Biographia Claſſica:

THE

LIVES

AND

CHARACTERS

OF ALL THE

CLASSIC AUTHORS,

The GRECIAN and ROMAN POETS, Hiſtorians, Orators, and Biographers.

WITH

An HISTORICAL and CRITICAL ACCOUNT of Them and Their Writings:

Illuſtrating their ſeveral EXCELLENCIES, and ſhewing their DEFECTS, from the JUDGMENT and REMARKS of the Moſt Celebrated CRITICS both Ancient and Modern.

VOL. II.

DUBLIN:

Re-printed by and for GEORGE FAULKNER.
MDCCXLI.

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VOL. II.

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THE LIVES and CHARACTERS OF THE CLASSIC AUTHORS, the GRECIAN and ROMAN POETS, HISTORIANS, ORATORS and BIOGRAPHERS.

VOL. II.

HERODOTUS.

HERODOTUS, or as others write it *Erodotus*, is the moſt ancient of the *Greek* Hiſtorians, whoſe Works have reached our hands; and tho' in ſome parts of his Hiſtory there appear ſome Particulars which ſeem fabulous, which he relates on the Credit of others, and which he himſelf acknowledges to be dubious and incredible; that cannot deprive his Work of the Character of a real Hiſtory, nor can it be denied, that he has faithfully tranſmitted whatever he could poſſibly attain any certain Knowledge of, with regard to the ancient Hiſtory of the *Egyptians*, *Aſſyrians*, *Medes*, *Lydians*, and *Greeks*. He ſpared no pains to collect the beſt Information that could be had. To that end, he travelled into *Egypt*, ſaw all the principal Cities, carefully viewed the chief Curioſities and moſt remarkable Places; and converſed with the Prieſts of that Country, who informed him of their ancient Hiſtory, and acquainted

ted him with their Cuſtoms ſacred and civil. Indeed, he ſpeaks of their religious Rites with ſuch Plainneſs and Clearneſs in ſome caſes, and ſuch Reſerve and Reverence in others, that I am apt to believe he was initiated into their Ceremonies, and conſecrated a Prieſt of ſome of their Orders. He likewiſe viſited ſeveral Parts of *Greece*, *Thrace* and *Scythia*: He went to *Babylon* and *Tyre*, and was in *Arabia* and *Paleſtine*. Thus, being acquainted with the moſt famous Countries, and valuable Things, and knowing the moſt conſiderable Perſons of the Age, he applied himſelf to write the Hiſtory of the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*; and performed the noble Work with that Judgment, Faithfulneſs and Eloquence, that gained him univerſal Applauſe and Approbation.

THIS great Writer, according to *Pamphyla*, cited by *Aulus Gellius*, muſt be born in the firſt Year of the ſeventy-fourth Olympiad, ſince he was Fifty-three at the Beginning of the *Peloponneſian* War, and but four Years old when *Xerxes* marched into *Greece*. There is no room left to doubt the Place of his Birth, ſince he has himſelf inſerted in the Beginning of his Work, both his Name and Country, *This is the Hiſtory of* Herodotus *of* Halicarnaſſus, *a City of that Part of* Greece *called* Doris, *a Region confining on the* Meleans: So that we need not have recourſe to *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, or any other Authors, to find what Countryman he was. But it is yet neceſſary to obſerve, that he was alſo ſurnamed the *Thurian*; the Reaſon of which *Strabo* gives to this purpoſe: *Herodotus*, the Hiſtorian, was of *Halicarnaſſus*, and afterwards called the *Thurian*, becauſe he went into *Italy* with a Colony ſent by the *Athenians* to build a City, which they called *Thurium*, near the Ruins of the ancient

ancient *Sibaris*. Hence it is, that the Emperor *Julian*, in one of his Epiſtles, calls him the *Thurian* Hiſtorian.

WE are not ſo certainly informed of the Names of his Father and Mother, tho' the common Opinion, according to *Suidas*, was, that the Name of his Father was *Lyxus*, and *Dryo* that of his Mother; but, that we are wholly ignorant of his Circumſtances and Fortune. 'Tis yet ſaid, that his Parents were of a genteel Family, and that he had a Brother named *Theodorus*. The City of *Halicarnaſſus* being at that time under the Domination of *Lygdamis*, Grandſon of *Artemiſia* Queen of *Caria*, *Herodotus* quitted his Country in ſearch of that Liberty which is neceſſary to learned Men, and retired to *Samos*; from whence he travelled to *Egypt*, *Italy*, and through all *Greece*; and in his Travels, as was obſerved before, acquired the Knowledge of the Origin and Hiſtory of Nations. He then began his Hiſtory; and having laboured in that Work in the Iſle of *Samos*, he returned to his own Country, expelled the Tyrant, and finding himſelf for that Reaſon expoſed to the Envy of his Fellow-Citizens, went into *Greece*.

THE principal Deſign which he propoſed in his Hiſtory, was, to write the *Perſian* Wars againſt the *Greeks*, from the Reign of *Cyrus* to that of *Xerxes*; but he alſo extended it to the Hiſtory of other Nations. Tho' his Hiſtory ends with the Battle of *Plateæ* and *Mycale*, it doth not begin before the eighth Year of the Reign of *Xerxes*, nor end till the *Peloponneſian* War, as he has obſerved in ſeveral Places; amongſt others, in his ſeventh Book, where he ſays, that long after *Xerxes* returned to the *Lacedæmonians* the Embaſſadors which had been ſent to him to ſerve as Repriſals for thoſe

which were killed at *Sparta*, he ſtirred up a War betwixt the *Peloponneſians* and the *Athenians*, which he believed to have been raiſed by the Wrath of God; becauſe the *Athenians* killed the Embaſſadors which the *Lacedæmonians* ſent into *Aſia*, which happened in the ſecond Year of the *Peloponneſian* War. He touches on this again in his Ninth Book, where he ſays, that in the War which long after broke out between the *Athenians* and *Peloponneſians*, the *Lacedæmonians* ravaging the *Athenian* Territories, ſpared *Decelæa*; which, *Thucydides* ſays, happened in the nineteenth Year of the *Peloponneſian* War, and the laſt Year of the Ninety-firſt Olympiad. Yet *Euſebius* on the Eighty-third Olympiad obſerves, that he that Year recited his Books at *Athens*, in the Feſtival of the *Panathenæa*. Others ſay, that it was at *Olympus* in the Aſſembly of the *Olympic* Games; both of which may be true: For *Herodotus*, after having recited ſome Parts of his Hiſtory at the *Olympic* Games the firſt Year of the Eighty- third Olympiad, might come to *Athens* and recite them at the *Panathenæa*, where it was much more proper than at the *Olympic* Games; becauſe *Homer*'s Verſes were recited there, and Crowns and Rewards beſtowed on thoſe who ſucceeded well. It is not known whether it was at *Olympus* or *Athens*, that (as 'tis ſaid) *Thucydides* was ſo touched with Emulation, that he reſolved to undertake the writing of a Hiſtory, and endeavour to equal or excel *Herodotus*. *Euſebius* obſerves in his Chronicle, that it was in the fourth Year of the Eighty-third Olympiad, that *Herodotus* recited his Hiſtory at *Athens*, but it muſt have been the third Year; for in that ſame Year he was ſent, as we have already hinted, to *Thurii*. *Pliny* ſays, he compiled his Hiſtory in the Year of the

the Foundation of *Rome* Three Hundred, which cannot be wholly true, ſince he recited it at *Athens* four Years before. But how will that agree with what we have alledged, that there are mentioned Events which happened in the ſecond and nineteenth Years of the *Peloponneſian* War, that is ſixteen and twenty-five Years after?

THIS is yet not difficult to conceive, if we read what *Lucian* tells us of the great Addreſs which our Author made uſe of to raiſe a great Reputation over all *Greece*, in a ſmall time, and with Eaſe. *Herodotus*, ſays he, having left *Caria* to go into *Greece*, employed his Thoughts in contriving Methods, by which in a ſmall time, without much trouble, he might acquire a large ſtock of Glory and Reputation for his Perſon and Works. He foreſaw it would be a tedious and fatiguing Taſk, to go to the reſpective Places, and recite them to the *Corinthians*, *Athenians*, *Argives* and *Lacedæmonians*, he imagined that he ought to find them all aſſembled together; it happened very luckily, that they were then all going to celebrate the *Olympian* Games. He concluded this time very proper for the Execution of his Deſign, and that he had met with the Opportunity which he was in queſt of; for he ſhould now find a vaſt Concourſe of the principal and moſt ſelect People of all *Greece*. He appeared then on the Theatre, not as a bare Spectator, but in order to commence an Actor in the *Olympicks*, reciting his Hiſtories and charming the Auditory; which occaſioned the giving of the Names of the *Nine Muſes* to his Books. This rendred him more famous than even thoſe who bore away the Prizes at the *Olympic* Games. None were ignorant of the Name of *Herodotus*, nor was there a ſingle Perſon in *Greece* who had not either

ſeen him at the *Olympicks*, or heard thoſe ſpeak of him that came from thence. So that in what Place ſoever he came, the Inhabitants pointed with their Finger, ſaying, This is that *Herodotus* who has written the *Perſian* Wars in the *Ionic* Dialect: This is he who has celebrated our Victories. Thus the Harveſt which he reaped from his Hiſtories, was the receiving in one Aſſembly the general Applauſe of all *Greece*; and the ſounding his Fame, not only in one Place and by a ſingle Trumpet, but in all the Cities of *Greece* by as many Mouths as there had been Spectators in that Aſſembly. This may help us to comprehend, that *Herodotus* did not recite the whole Nine Books of his Hiſtory in one continued Series in the *Olympic* Aſſemblies, but only ſome Parts of them, and thoſe Places which concerned the *Greeks*. He did not then publiſh the entire Body, but only ſhewed ſome Specimen of this Work; which he might afterwards retouch and finiſh, when at *Thurii*. But theſe two Paſſages, which we have alledged, ſhew that he lived a long time after. For, if the laſt of them is really his, which there is no room to doubt, it follows, that he did not put his laſt hand to this Work till after the Nineteenth Year of the *Peloponneſian* War, that is the fourth Year of the Ninety-firſt *Olympiad*, when he was aged above Seventy-two Years. *Scaliger* computes his Age, making him to have lived preciſely the Space of thirteen *Olympiads*, that is, Fifty-two Years: For ſo long lived the ſweeteſt Muſe of *Ionia*, as he calls him; and then goes on thus: He is the moſt ancient Writer in Proſe that is now extant, the Treaſury of the *Grecian* and *Barbarian* Antiquities; an Author never to be out of the hands of the Learned, nor to be touched by the Half-learned, the Pedagogues and the Apes of Learning.

HE

He divided his Work into Nine Books, and gave to each of them the Name of one of the Nine Muſes: For 'tis much more probable, that he himſelf called them by thoſe Names, than that, as *Lucian* imagines, other Perſons beſtowed thoſe Titles upon them, moved thereto by the Eſteem they had for them. This Caſe is different from that of the Three Orations and Nine Epiſtles of *Æſchines*, which are called by the Names of the *Three Graces*, and the *Nine Muſes*; but they do not bear thoſe Names in their Titles. Several, ſince *Herodotus*, in Imitation of him, have given the Names of the *Muſes* to the Books of their Works.

The Style of this Writer has been admired by all acquainted with Antiquity. *Cicero*, the beſt Judge that can be alledged in this Caſe, ſays in his Second Book of the Orator, that *Herodotus* is ſo eloquent that nothing pleaſed him more; and in his *Brutus*, that his Style is free from all Harſhneſs, and glides along like the Waters of a ſtill River: And, to ſhew his Eſteem, he uſes the higheſt Expreſſion the *Roman* Language is capable of, ſtyling him *The Father of Hiſtory*; not becauſe he was the moſt ancient, for beſides others of leſs Fame, *Hellanicus* of *Mitylene*, and *Charon* of *Lampſacus*, were before him; but judging him the Prince of Hiſtorians, he gave him the Title of *Father*, which the *Romans* ever uſed to denote a Perſon moſt illuſtrious and highly deſerving of the Commonwealth. *Quintilian*, who was an excellent Critick, gives the ſame Judgment. As for *Herodotus*, ſays he, beſides the flowing Sweetneſs of his Style, even the Dialect itſelf, which he uſes, has a certain Grace; ſo that it ſeems to contain concealed Numbers. Several have wrote Hiſtory well, but no Man doubts there are two Hiſtorians preferable to all

all the reſt: They have two different Qualities, which deſerve very near the ſame Eſteem. *Thucydides* is cloſe, conciſe, and ſometimes even crouds himſelf; *Herodotus* is ſweet, natural and prolix. The firſt is more proper for thoſe whoſe Paſſions are quick; the ſecond for thoſe who are ſedate: The one excels in Orations, the other in Narrations; the one has more Force, the other more Delicacy. If we appeal to the Judgment of Hiſtorians, *Dion* tells us, that his Diſcourſe is grave and delicate; *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*, that he is the Model of the *Ionic* Dialect, as *Thucydides* is of the *Attic*. And deſcending to Particulars concerning his Style, he thus deſcribes it: *Herodotus* very much ſurpaſſed all others in the Choice of his Words, and Juſtice of his Compoſition, and the Variety of his Figures. His Diſcourſe is compoſed in ſuch a manner that it reſembles an excellent Poem in its perſuaſive Art, and that charming Grace which pleaſes in the higheſt degree. He has not omitted any of the beautiful and great Qualities, unleſs it be in that manner of Writing adapted to Conteſts and Diſputes; either becauſe he was naturally not made for it, or that he deſpiſed it as not agreeable to Hiſtory: For he doth not make uſe of a great Number of Orations, nor Speeches, to promote Contention, nor has he the neceſſary Force requiſite to excite the Paſſions and amplify and augment Things. But it may juſtly be ſaid, that in Recompenſe his Narrations are eloquent and agreeable; that his Deſcriptions are exact, natural and faithful; and his Reflections beautiful and judicious. In ſhort, throughout his Work there appears the noble Simplicity and charming Sincerity, which are the moſt eſſential Qualities of a good Hiſtory. *Dionyſius* extols the Happineſs

Happineſs of this Writer, in chuſing a Subject of the greateſt Dignity, that ſhewed his Country in the utmoſt Glory, and proved to a Demonſtration by the uniform Succeſſes of the Battles of *Marathon*, *Salamis*, *Platæa* and *Mycale*, that Superiority of Numbers was but a feeble Defence to the great King of *Perſia*, againſt the military Virtue and excellent Diſcipline of the *Grecians*. He commends the Smoothneſs and unaffected Simplicity of his Narration, the Decency of his Speeches moſt artfully adapted to the Character of every Perſon, together with the beautiful Order and Compoſition of his Hiſtory, which, by following Things, not Time, ever charms to the laſt Syllable, and leaves the Reader with a Deſire of more: Preferring him to *Thucydides* in every thing, except Brevity, Vehemence and cloſe Reaſoning.

HERODOTUS, ſays *Rapin*, is not every where over-exact, becauſe he took in too much Matter; but ſtill I find him of Sincerity more than ordinary, ſince he treats of the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*, thoſe of his own Country and Strangers, without the leaſt ſhew of Partiality. Yet he ſtrays too much, he frequently leaves his Matter to amuſe himſelf with tedious Digreſſions, which are for the moſt part forced and unnatural, wherein he follows the Example of *Homer*, but with leſs Succeſs. *Longinus* obſerves, that he has ſo perfectly imitated *Homer* in his Dialect, that he deſerves the Name of *Omerikotatos*.

As to the Truth of his Hiſtory, it muſt be owned that *Herodotus* has been accuſed by ſeveral Authors, of not always cloſely following it. *Cteſias* ſuſpects him in the Hiſtories of the *Medes* and *Aſſyrians*. *Manethon* cenſures his *Egyptian* Hiſtory. And it is true, that what he relates before *Pſammetychus*,

Herodotus & Homer =

metychus, and on the Credit of others, is not very certain, which he confeſſes himſelf. 'Tis ſaid, that *Thucydides* had *Herodotus* in his Eye, when he cenſured thoſe Hiſtories which were compiled for no other End than to divert the Reader; and which, tho' they pleaſed him at the Moment, yet left him without any Fruit of his Reading. *Strabo* particularly accuſes our Author of this Fault: He tells us, that *Herodotus* trifles very agreeably, interweaving extraordinary Events with his Narration to ſupply the Place of Song, Verſe and Ornament. *Juvenal* alſo aims at him, when he ſays that Ships ſailed over Mount *Athos*, and that the *Grecian* Hiſtory was full of Lyes:

——————*Creditur olim*
Velificatus Athos, *& quicquid* Græcia *mendax*
Audet in Hiſtoria.

BUT none have ventured to attack the Fidelity of *Herodotus* with ſo much Freedom as *Plutarch*; and his Judgment would be of great weight if he had not himſelf declared that the Intereſt of his Country had engaged him in the Diſpute. *Herodotus* relates, that in *Xerxes*'s Expedition, the *Thebans* to eſcape their Ruin abandoned the common Cauſe, and joined with the *Perſians*. Tho' this Fact was true, and *Demoſthenes* afterwards reproached the *Thebans* with it, yet *Plutarch* being a Native of *Cheronæa*, a *Theban* City, could not bear this Affront to his Countrymen, but in revenge diſcharged his Choler againſt the Diſcoverer of the baſe Cowardice of his Anceſtors, in a Book wrote expreſsly for that purpoſe, and intitled, Of the Malignity of *Herodotus*. But the Particulars which he objects againſt him, are either trifling or ſuch as *Herodotus* took upon the credit of others, and

and is not obliged to anſwer for them; or laſtly, *Plutarch* himſelf, tho' he blames, was miſtaken in the Truth of them. In a word, he betrays a great deal of Puerility and preverſe Affectation in that Work.

ON the other ſide, all *Greece*, by their ſolemn Approbation gave ample Teſtimony of the Fidelity of *Herodotus*, in a time when moſt of the Facts by him related were very well known. In his Book there appears a manifeſt Character of Sincerity, which even his Enemies have been forced to acknowledge. He examines the Truth of the Facts, which he relates; he lays down the different Sentiments, and endeavours to diſcover the true one. When he relates extraordinary Events, he tells us that he took them from the Accounts of others; he then declares which he ſuſpects, and which he believes falſe; adding, *As 'tis ſaid*, *As I have heard*, *This does not ſeem at all probable*, *Thoſe who made theſe Stories relate*. And he lays down for a Rule, that he writes thoſe Things which others report; but that they ought not to be depended on, any farther than they are probable; that the Character of an Hiſtorian obliges him to relate what he had heard, but that he ought not to believe that all that hath been told him is true. After theſe Precautions how can he be accuſed of Lying, when he relates incredible and fabulous Things on the Credit of others? It cannot be denied, but that it was in his power to acquaint himſelf with the *Grecian* Hiſtory, and that what he wrote (ſome Exaggerations excepted) was true. Nor ought his Abridgment of the *Lydian* Hiſtory any more to be ſuſpected, ſince that Empire was by Situation a Neighbour to the *Aſiatic Greeks* among whom *Herodotus* was born; and the *Lydian* Kings

Kings having long warred against the *Greeks*, and being sometimes obliged to invoke their Aid, their History was in a sort interwoven with that of the *Greeks*. Besides, *Herodotus* was born not above sixty Years after the Destruction of the *Lydian* Empire; so that it was not possible that the History of that Nation should be unknown to the neighbouring *Greeks*. He seems very candid in his *Egyptian* History, for he ingenuously owns that all that he relates before *Psammetychus* is uncertain, and that he reports it only on the Credit of the *Egyptian* Priests, on whom he did not much depend. Those, says he, who will conclude these Things are true, are free to believe them: As for me, I only report what has been told me by several Persons. Those Things, says he again, as well as others which have been related to me, seem to be arrant Fables. His History of the *Assyrians* and *Medes* doth not at all agree with that which the modern Chronologists have followed, but almost all the Ancients have given *Herodotus* the Preference; and several have attempted to reconcile them. In his *Persian* History, in many Particulars, he differs from *Xenophon's Cyropædia*; but we ought to observe here, what *Cicero* of the latter Piece, that it was not written with the exact Fidelity of an Historian, but to lay down a Model of a just Empire.

THE only remaining Work of *Herodotus* now extant, is his History in nine Books, respectively intitled with the Names of the Nine Muses. His chief Design was to compile the History of the *Persian* War against the *Greeks*, which might have been intitled a *Persian* History, or *Persica*, according to ancient Custom. The same Subject was treated on by *Dionysius* of *Miletus*, *Hellanicus* of *Mitylene*, and *Charon* of *Lampsacus*; but the La-

bours

x The Books of Herodotus bear the names of the Nine Muses — 1 Clio — 2 Euterpe — 3 Thalia — 4 Melpomene — 5 Terpsichore. 6 Erato — 7 Polyhymnia. 8 Urania — 9 = Calliope —

bours of theſe Authors did not divert him from undertaking a new Work, being perſuaded that he was better qualified for ſuch an Attempt, than they; in which he was not deceived in the Judgment of *Theophraſtus*, according to the Teſtimony of *Cicero* in his Orator, where ſpeaking of *Herodotus* and *Thucydides*, he ſays, they were the firſt, as *Theophraſtus* obſerves, who raiſed Hiſtory, and taught it a more copious and ornamental Style, than the Authors that preceded them. *Herodotus* promiſes in two Places of his firſt Book, to write the Hiſtory of *Aſſyria:* There have reign'd, ſays he, ſeveral other Kings of *Babylon*, (whom I ſhall mention in my Hiſtory of *Aſſyria*). And in another Place: Thus the *Medes* retook the Empire, and what they formerly were poſſeſſed of, and ſeized *Ninus*, (how they took him, I ſhall ſay in another Book) and ſubdued the *Aſſyrians*, except the Country of *Babylon*. But theſe Books of *Herodotus* never appeared, but were probably prevented by his Death; for if they had been ever publiſhed, 'tis ſcarce to be believed that none of the Antients ſhould mention them. His Reputation was too great, and Subject too important, to allow them to remain in Oblivion. 'Tis indeed true, that *Ariſtotle* blames *Herodotus*, for ſaying that an Eagle drank during the Siege of *Nineveh*; becauſe, as he affirms, that Bird as well as all thoſe that have forked Claws, never drink. And this Fact is not mentioned in all the Nine Books we have at preſent, which leaves room for ſome Authors to conjecture, that *Ariſtotle* meant the Hiſtory of *Aſſyria*, with which the Siege of *Nineveh* naturally fell in; but 'tis not impoſſible that *Ariſtotle* might have been miſtaken, and quote *Herodotus* for ſome other Author.

THERE is yet beſides aſcribed to *Herodotus*, a Life of *Homer*, which is at the End of his Works; but there is no Probability, that it is of this ancient *Herodotus*. The Author of that Life does not agree with him on the Time when that Poet lived, for he ſays that *Homer* flouriſhed one hundred and ſixty-eight Years after the *Trojan* War, and ſix hundred and twenty-two Years before *Xerxes*'s Expedition into *Greece*. But *Herodotus* affirms in his *Euterpe*, that *Homer* and *Heſiod* preceded him four hundred Years; and conſequently they flouriſhed more Years after the taking of *Troy*. Beſides, the Style of this Piece is very different from that of *Herodotus*. He ſays many Things of *Homer*, which do not at all agree with what the Ancients have ſaid of that Poet, and treats his Subject more like a modern Grammarian than an ancient Hiſtorian.

THE Style of this Writer, ſays *La Mothe*, is rather ſweet, clear and eaſy, than high, conciſe and preſſing, as that of *Thucydides*; and there is found ſo much Reſemblance between him and *Homer*, that the Sophiſter *Longinus* aſſures us in his Treatiſe *On the Sublime*, that none but *Herodotus* perfectly imitated that Prince of Poets, and that he alone is (to uſe his Term Ομηρικώτατος; ſo that it is uſual to adviſe thoſe who will improve in the Underſtanding of *Homer*, firſt to read *Herodotus*, to the end that the Proſe of the latter may prepare an eaſy Acceſs to the Poeſy of the former, by the Affinity of Style between them.

Herodotus & Homer

THUCYDIDES.

THUCYDIDES.

WE know nothing of Certainty concerning the Perſon of *Thucydides*, but what he himſelf has delivered in his Hiſtory; that he was a Citizen of *Athens*, and General of the Army in *Thrace*, where he married; that his Poſſeſſions were very great there, and that he purchaſed much Eſteem by the Largeneſs of his Expences. For the reſt, Antiquity is almoſt ſilent in the Matter. It is not doubted but he was of an honourable Extraction, which *Marcellinus*, who has left us a Fragment of the Life of this great Man, deduces from the Kings of *Thrace*, aſſerting that his Grandfather married a Daughter of that Family, whence his Father called himſelf *Olorus*, a Name born by many of the *Thracian* Kings. His Mother's Name was *Hegeſipyle*, and he reckoned among his Anceſtors *Miltiades* and *Cimon*, thoſe two celebrated Generals of the *Athenians*. It is difficult to decide in what Degree of Kindred he ſtood to theſe illuſtrious Perſons; but that he was related to the Houſe of *Miltiades* appears by his Tomb that was a long time to be ſeen among the Monuments of that Family. Near to the Gates of *Athens*, called *Melirides*, there was a Place named *Coela*, and in it were erected the Monuments called *Cimoniana*, belonging to the Family of *Miltiades*, in which none but ſuch as were of that Relation might be laid: Among thoſe was the Monument of *Thucydides*, with this Inſcription, *Thucydides Olori Halimuſius*.

AGREEABLE to his Nobility of Birth was his Education in the Study of Eloquence and Philoſophy.

loſophy. *Suidas* and *Photius* relate of him, that when a Youth, hearing *Herodotus* read his Hiſtory at the Solemnity of the *Olympic* Games, he fell a crying through a gallant Jealouſy and a Senſe of Emulation, which gave occaſion to *Herodotus* to compliment the Father of that young Gentleman, as giving an infallible Earneſt of his future Glory. He took that (ſays *La Mothe*) for a Sign of the growing Greatneſs of his Genius; and as a Thorn pricks as it grows, he judged that ſo extraordinary an Emotion in his tender Age, proceeding from ſo rare a Subject, would produce one Day ſomething memorable, and be followed by thoſe agreeable Watchings and Diſquiets which give Immortality to the Learned of Mankind. *Thucydides* (he goes on) lived about four hundred and thirty Years before the Incarnation; and as he was a Perſon of illuſtrious Birth, and a great Fortune added to the Excellency of his Endowments, he had no temptation to betray Truth in what he was to deliver to Poſterity; and though ſome have cenſured the Manner of his Writing, few ever queſtioned the Truth of it.

ANAXAGORAS was his Maſter in Philoſophy, whoſe Opinions being of a Strain above the Apprehenſions of the Vulgar, procured him the Character of an Atheiſt; which Name they beſtowed upon all who did not implicitly believe their ridiculous Religion, and in the end it coſt him his Life. *Socrates*, another of his Scholars, for the ſame Reaſons underwent the ſame Fortune; and no wonder, if this noble *Grecian* ſuffered under the ſame Imputation. But his Character was greatly abuſed by this Scandal; for the Severity of his Morals and his Piety appear plainly in ſeveral Places of his Works, where he ever ſpeaks like a Man of excellent

excellent Principles, and his Diſcourſe carries always in it a maſculine Air of Virtue. Obſerve what he ſays of a famous Commander, that was put to death by the *Syracuſians*, after his Defeat: Thus fell *Nicias*, who, of all his Co-temporaries, leaſt deſerved to die in ſuch a manner, as having always been a zealous Worſhipper of the Gods. The Acquaintance he had with *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Critias*, *Alcibiades*, *Pericles*, and all the great Men of that Age, which was the politeſt and of the fineſt Taſte that has ever been among the *Greeks*, gave the finiſhing Stroke, ſo as to fit his Mind with thoſe noble Ideas and Principles which make an abſolute Gentleman and an accompliſhed Hiſtorian.

In Rhetoric, he was the Diſciple of *Antiphon*, one (by his Deſcription in the Eighth Book of his Hiſtory) for the Power of his Speech almoſt a Miracle, and dreaded by the People for his Eloquence. He it was that contrived the Ruin of the Democracy, and ſet up the Government of the Four Hundred; for which he was put to death, when the People again recovered their Authority, notwithſtanding that he pleaded his own Cauſe the beſt of any Man living to that Day.

THUCYDIDES being deſcended from a Race of Kings, approved beſt of a Regal Government; and therefore it is no wonder that he meddled as little as poſſible in the Affairs of the Commonwealth: Yet though he retired upon the Coaſt of *Thrace*, where the chief of his Eſtate lay, (for he increaſed his Fortune by marrying a Princeſs of the Blood-Royal) yet he could not wholly avoid the Service of the State, which proved afterwards to him very unfortunate. For while he reſided in the Iſle *Thaſus*, it happened that *Braſidas* the *Lacedæ-*

monian beſieged *Amphipolis*, a City belonging to the *Athenians*, upon the Confines of *Thrace* and *Macedonia*, diſtant from *Thaſus* about half a Day's Sail. The *Athenian* Captain ſent to *Thucydides* to levy Forces, and haſten to relieve him, (for *Thucydides* was one of the *Strategi*, that is, had Authority to raiſe Soldiers for Defence of the Government) and he did accordingly. But he came thither one Night too late, for he found the City ſurrendered to the Enemy: For this he was afterwards baniſhed. Nevertheleſs he ſecured himſelf in the City of *Eion*, and preſerved it to the *Athenians*; defeating *Braſidas*, who came down from *Amphipolis* the next Morning, and aſſaulted it. The Author of his Baniſhment is ſuppoſed to have been *Cleon*, a moſt violent Sycophant in thoſe Times, but a moſt acceptable Speaker among the People.

IT was during his Exile that he wrote his Hiſtory, finding more Leiſure and better Inſtructions in the Enemy's Affairs, among whom he lived, as he declares in his Fifth Book, in which he ſpeaks of his Baniſhment, and his Retirement among the *Lacedæmonians*, by whoſe means he became acquainted with the Myſtery of Affairs which he had no poſſibility of knowing any other way. His Lady that he married bringing him a vaſt Fortune, he made uſe of it to collect his Memoirs, and he diſburs'd conſiderable Sums to the *Lacedæmonian* Commanders, to be inſtructed in the Truth of thoſe Things, which his own Party for their own Intereſt had diſguiſed. He retreated to *Egina*, a ſmall Iſland of *Peloponneſus*, where he began to work upon his Hiſtory. His Exile laſted twenty Years, and he died before he had put his finiſhing Hand to it.

THUCYDIDES

THUCYDIDES choſe for the Subject of his Hiſtory, The *Athenian* and *Peloponneſian* War. The common Diviſion of this Work is into Eight Books; the laſt is imperfect, and has been aſcribed by ſome to *Thucydides*'s Daughter. Others make *Xenophon* the Author, but the Style declares it not to be his. The moſt natural Account why this Book differs from the reſt, is, that the Author died before he had time to beautify it, and give it its complete Finiſhing: For he died, according to *Marcellinus*, as he was writing the Tranſactions of the Twenty-firſt Year of the War, which laſted Twenty-ſeven. The Tranſactions of the other ſix Years are to be found in *Theopompus* and *Xenophon*.

THE Characters drawn of this Hiſtorian by ancient and modern Writers of the firſt Note, will beſt ſerve to give us a juſt Idea of his extraordinary Abilities, and of the Value of that noble Work with which he has obliged Poſterity. There is one Virtue (ſays *Dionyſius*) in Eloquence the Chief of all the reſt, and without which there can be no Excellency in Speaking. What is that? That the Language be pure, and retain the Propriety of the *Greek* Tongue: This both of them obſerve diligently; for *Herodotus* is the beſt Rule of the *Ionic*, and *Thucydides* of the *Attic* Dialect. *Cicero*, in his Book *de Oratore*, ſpeaking of the *Greek* Rhetoricians, And therefore, ſays he, *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* are the more admirable; for though they lived in the ſame Age with thoſe I have before named (meaning *Thraſymachus*, *Gorgius* and *Theodorus*) yet were they far from this kind of Delicacy, or rather indeed Foolery. For the one without rub glides gently, like a ſtill River; and the other, *Thucydides*, runs more ſtrongly, and in Matter

Herodotus and Thucydides —

Matter of War, as it were, blows the Trumpet, and ſounds the Alarm. And in theſe two, as *Theophraſtus* obſerves, Hiſtory has rouſed herſelf, and ventures to ſpeak more copiouſly and with more Ornament than in thoſe that were before them.

THUCYDIDES (ſays *Plutarch*, in his Book of the Glory of the *Athenians*) aims always at this, to make his Auditor a Spectator, and to caſt his Reader into the ſame Paſſions that they were in who were Beholders. The Manner how *Demoſthenes* harangued the *Athenians* on the rugged Shore before *Pylus*, how *Braſidas* urged the Steerſman to run his Galley a-ground, how he went to the Ladder or Place in the Galley for Deſcent, how he was hurt and ſwooned and fell down on the Ledges of the Galley, how the *Spartans* fought after the manner of a Landfight upon the Sea, and the *Athenians* of a Seafight upon Land: Again, in the *Sicilian* War, how a Battle was fought by Sea and Land, with equal Fortune: Theſe Things, I ſay, are ſo deſcribed and ſo evidently ſet before our Eyes, that the Mind of the Reader is no leſs affected than if he had been preſent in the Actions.

WE may form a Judgment of the Style of this Hiſtorian by *Rapin*, which, he obſerves, is exalted, noble and ſublime, and is the Reaſon of his uſing ſo frequent and ſo bold Metaphors, in pure political Terms, yet better managed than thoſe of *Plato*; and hence he arrived at Grandeur of Expreſſion, which reigns ſo ſtrongly in his Writings: in which he is ever great without being extravagant in his Thoughts; always natural, yet falls not into any thing vulgar or common. This he took from *Homer*, whoſe Imitator he perfectly was. He propoſed him for a Pattern in his ſimple though noble Expreſſion,

Thucydides writes in a noble Stile & imitates Homer. — & Pindar

Expreſſion, and almoſt in the whole Order of his Diſcourſe, that is lively and animated. *Marcellinus* adds, that he betook himſelf to one *Prodicus*, of the Iſland *Cos*, for the exact Choice of Words, and to *Gorgius* of *Leontium*, for Order and Diſpoſition; and beſides that, this Hiſtorian formed himſelf upon *Pindar* for the ſublime Style and the Greatneſs of Expreſſion, which was his Excellence. He had alſo learnt of *Socrates* by the Acquaintance he had with him, the Art of a frank and ingenuous Narration, which he was ſo accuſtomed to, and procured him the Gift of Perſuaſion in ſo high a meaſure; true it is, that no man knew how to uſe his Reaſon better, or to make it more prevalent by thoſe natural but ſtrong and preſſing Turns he gave it. His way of reaſoning by frequent *Enthymeme*, which *Demoſthenes* had ſo well copied, is ſtrong and vehement; and nothing can be more lively or more engaging, than that Air of his, which makes his diſtinguiſhing Character. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* concludes him to be the firſt Inventor of that way, which has ſet him ſo far above all other Writers. We find in the end of that Critick's Diſcourſe to *Tubero*, the Places where *Demoſthenes* has beſt expreſſed the Force and Grandeur of *Thucydides*, in his Imitation. 'Twas upon this great Model that noble Orator was formed, to which he applied himſelf with that exceeding Induſtry, as to tranſcribe this Author's Hiſtory eight times over, to take his Character and copy out his Excellence, as we are aſſured by his Commentator *Ulpian* the Rhetorician. In fine, *Thucydides* had a Nobleneſs of Thought, a Choice of Words, a Boldneſs of Imagination, a Vigour of Diſcourſe, a Profoundneſs of Reaſoning, a Neatneſs of Conception, a Fineneſs of Stroke, Colour and

Enthymeme - a Short condensed argument = a Logic =
Thucydides & Demosthenes

and Expreſſion, which none of the other *Greek* Hiſtorians have been Maſters of, which gave the moſt ingenious Criticks among the Ancients reaſon to acquaint us: he took the true Style Hiſtory ought to be wrote in. And indeed, whatever he ſays, whatever paſſes through his Mind, receives a turn of Greatneſs and Beauty, beyond what any others can afford us. He is a genius of an Order above the common Standard, that conceives every thing nobly, and gives a ſort of Elevation to the moſt ordinary Things.

I MUST not omit the Sentiments of a learned Critick of our own Nation, Dr. *Felton*, in his Diſſertation upon the Claſſics: *Thucydides* doth ſometimes write in a Style ſo cloſe, that almoſt every Word is a Sentence; and every Sentence almoſt acquaints us with ſomething new: So that from the Multitude of Cauſes and Variety of Matter crouded together, we ſhould ſuſpect him to be obſcure; but yet ſo happy, ſo admirable a Maſter is he in the Art of Expreſſion, ſo proper and full, that we cannot ſay whether his Diction doth more illuſtrate the Things he ſpeaks of, or whether his Words themſelves are not illuſtrated by his Matter. So mutual a Light do his Expreſſion and Subject reflect on each other. His Diction, tho' it be preſſed and cloſe, is nevertheleſs great and magnificent, equal to the Dignity and Importance of his Subject. He firſt after *Herodotus* ventured to adorn the Hiſtorians Style, to make the Narration more pleaſing, by leaving the Flatneſs and Nakedneſs of former Ages. This is moſt obſervable in his Battles, where he does not only relate the meer Fight, but writeth with a martial Spirit, as if he ſtood in the hotteſt of the Engagement; and what is moſt excellent as well as remarkable, in ſo cloſe a Style, that

Battles well deſcribed by Thucydides

that it is numerous and harmonious, that his Words are not laboured nor forced, but fall into their Places in a natural Order, as into their moſt proper Situation.

THUCYDIDES, in the Opinion of *Cicero*, excelled all others in the Art of ſpeaking, he almoſt equals the Number of his Words with the Number of his Sentences: his Expreſſions are ſo fit and ſhort, that no Man can determine whether he has more illuſtrated his Subject by his Oratory, or his Oratory by his wiſe Reflections.

QUINTILIAN obſerves he is always cloſe and ſhort, and ever preſent in his Buſineſs. *Herodotus* is ſweet, candid, and diffuſed. *Thucydides* repreſents beſt the Paſſions in Motion, *Herodotus* ſhews them in a Calm. *Herodotus* is the beſt at a long, *Thucydides* at a ſhort Oration. This forceth, and that wins a Man's Conſent. He wrote a Hiſtory, ſays *Lipſius*, in which he relates neither many, nor great Affairs, and yet perhaps he has won the Garland from all thoſe who have repreſented many and great Occurrences. His Diſcourſe is always cloſe and ſhort, his Sentences are frequent, and his Judgment ſound; giving every where excellent, but concealed Advice, directing thereby Mens Lives and Actions. His Orations and Excurſions are almoſt Divine, the oftner you read him, the more you will gain by him; and yet he will never diſmiſs you without a Thirſt of reading him again. He has left us a Hiſtory ſo well compoſed, that it will ever be the Subject of the Wonder of Poſterity, rather than their Imitation.

To conclude this Subject. The Style of *Thucydides* is more noble and lofty than that of *Herodotus*, yet it never fails of being natural; he has Fire, Force and Grandeur: Every thing in his Writing keeps

Thucydides the prince of his torians.
greater than Herodotus
opinions of Cicero - Quintilian &

keeps up it ſelf, nothing languiſhes or grovels. This Hiſtorian, and *Livy*, are ſufficient to acquaint a Man what Genius Hiſtory requires. Antiquity has nothing to boaſt of more perfect than their Works. *Thucydides* has eſtabliſh'd his Reputation with ſo pure Ideas, that he deſerves to be credited in all Ages. It is hard to meet with one of this Author's Temper, who, tho' he had been extremely wrong'd by the Tyrant *Pericles*, yet he always praiſed him as occaſion offered, and did juſtice in his Writings to the *Athenians*, altho' unjuſtly they had baniſhed him their Commonwealth. In a word, *Thucydides* was exact in all he wrote, and faithful in all he ſaid; and tho' ſometimes he ſeems auſtere and ſurly, he ever ſupports his Character with Dignity and Grandeur.

XENOPHON.

XENOPHON, Son of *Gryllus*, was an *Athenian*, born in the City of *Erchiea*, about four hundred Years before the Nativity; he paſſed the firſt Years of his Life under the Diſcipline and Inſtruction of *Socrates*. He became known to the younger *Cyrus* by means of *Proxenus* the *Bœotian*, a Diſciple of *Gorgias Leontinus*, who was favoured by that Prince, and reſided with him at *Sardis*. *Proxenus*, then *Xenophon*'s Friend, wrote to *Athens* to invite him to come to *Cyrus*; *Xenophon* ſhew'd his Letter to *Socrates*, deſiring his Advice; that Philoſopher referred him to the Oracle of *Delphi*, which *Xenophon* accordingly conſulted; but inſtead of aſking whether he ſhould go to *Cyrus*, he inquired how he ſhould go to him;

for

for which *Socrates* reprimanded him, yet adviſed him to go. Being arrived at the Court of *Cyrus*, he acquired at leaſt as great a Share of that Prince's Favour as *Proxenus*. He accompanied *Cyrus* with the ten thouſand *Greeks* in his Expedition into *Perſia*, againſt his Brother *Artaxerxes*, and his Courage and Conduct appeared in the famous Retreat of the ten thouſand Men, whom he brought from the extreme Parts of *Perſia*, remaining victorious over all thoſe who attempted to oppoſe his Paſſage. The Hiſtory of which he has himſelf written in his Book entitled, *The Expedition of* Cyrus, alſo called *The Retreat of the Ten thouſand.*

After this Retreat, the Loſſes which this Body met with at *Pontus*, and *Seuthes* King of the *Odryſians* perfidiouſly refuſing them their Pay, after they had ſettled him in his Dominions, obliged *Xenophon* to put them into the Hands of the *Lacedeminans*, whilſt he went to *Ageſilaus* King of *Sparta*, and engaged the Friendſhip of that Prince; which rendered him odious to the *Athenians* (who thereupon baniſhed him their Country) but obtained him the Protection of the *Lacedemonians*, who gave him a Retreat among them. He went with *Ageſilaus* to the War againſt the *Thebans*, and afterwards retired to *Scyllus* in the Province of *Elis*, with his Wife *Phileſia*, and his two Sons *Gryllus* and *Diodorus*, and paſſed the Remainder of his Days in hunting and writing his Hiſtory. *Dinarchus* affirms that the *Lacedemonians* gave him a Houſe and Lands in that Place; and 'tis alſo ſaid that *Philopidas*, a *Lacedemonian*, made him a Preſent of *Dardanian* Slaves; as 'tis alſo reported that the *Elei* coming to *Scyllus* with their Forces, took away his Lands, and that he then fled at firſt to *Elis*, and afterwards to *Lepreum*, whither his Chil-

dren had eſcaped with ſome Slaves, and that from thence he went to live at *Corinth.*

After this he ſent his two Sons to *Athens*, and enter'd them among the Auxiliaries which the *Athenians* ſent to the *Lacedemonians.* They were both in the Battle of *Mantinea*, where *Epaminondas* was ſlain. *Gryllus*, who was among the Horſe, was killed as he was bravely charging the Enemy, but his Brother who did not diſtinguiſh himſelf came off unhurt, and afterwards had a Son called *Gryllus.* *Xenophon* is ſaid to have received the News of the Death of his Son, whilſt he was offering a Sacrifice, and crowned with Flowers, and being informed of the Loſs, he laid aſide his Chaplet; but when he heard that he died like a brave Man, he reaſſumed it. Some add, that being told of his Son's death, he did not ſhed one Tear, but only ſaid, *I very well knew that I begot him mortal.* The Authors of thoſe Times exerciſed their Wits in writing Panegyricks and Epitaphs on *Gryllus* to pleaſe his Father; and if we believe *Hermippus*, *Socrates* himſelf has been cenſured for being one of them who employed himſelf that way. *Laertius*, from whoſe Life of *Xenophon* we have taken what we have juſt now been ſaying, tells us, that he flouriſhed particularly in the fourth Year of the hundred and fourth Olympiad; that he went with *Cyrus* when *Xenocrates* was Archon, in the Year which preceded the Death of *Socrates.* He died, according to the Teſtimony of *Steſicles* the *Athenian*, in his Book of *Olympiads* and *Archons*, in the firſt Year of the hundred and fifth Olympiad, when, *Callidemus* was Archon, and *Philip* Son of *Amyntas* King of *Macedonia.* He was at *Corinth* when he died, and very old; if we believe the Teſtimony of *Demetrius Magnes.*

XENO-

XENOPHON was a Perſon exceedingly religious, continually ſacrificing, and had the Reputation of being very well ſkilled in that ſort of Divination, which was pretended to be drawn from the Inſpection of the Entrails of the Victims. He imitated *Socrates*, and was Antagoniſt to *Plato*. *Diogenes Laertius* ſays, that he wrote forty Books, which have been variouſly divided. The Hiſtorical are the Expedition of *Cyrus*, or the Retreat of the Ten thouſand; the Continuation of *Thucydides*'s Hiſtory, and the *Cyropædia*; to which may be added, the Panegyric of *Ageſilaus* King of *Lacedemon*; the Treatiſe on the Republic and Laws of the *Lacedemonians*; a Tract of the *Athenian* Republic; the Apology for *Socrates*; and the Treatiſe of the Actions and Sayings of that Philoſopher, in four Books, which are rather Philoſophical than Hiſtorical. We have beſides of him, The Œconomy; his Feaſt; *Hiero*, or of a Kingdom; of Impoſts; and three ſmall Tracts, one of Horſes, the ſecond of Governing them, and the third of Hunting, together with the Fragments of ſome Epiſtles.

THIS Writer, ſays *La Mothe*, does not owe the Fame he has had ſo many Ages to Hiſtory alone, for Philoſophy and Arms have contributed to it; and for theſe three Qualifications he may be as well termed *Triſmegiſtus*, as *Hermes* the *Egyptian*, ſince he is univerſally acknowledged to be a very great Captain, Philoſopher, and Hiſtoriographer. He has common with *Cæſar* the firſt and laſt Qualities; and they are not deceived who find a third Reſemblance in their Style, Purity, Eloquence, and Sweetneſs, being equally natural to them both. They have each an agreeable Manner of Expreſſion without Art or Affectation, though no Art or Affectation can come near it.

The

The Surname of *Apes Attica*, an *Athenian Muſe*, with which all the Ancients have dignified *Xenophon*, is not only a Witneſs of the Beauty of his Language, and of that honey-like Sweetneſs, which the *Graces* ſeem to have poured on it with their own Hands, (to ſpeak like *Quintilian*) but it is a particular Mark of his *Attic* Dialect, wherein he excelled ſo much, that *Diogenes Laertius* writing his Life, gives no other Reaſon for the bad Intelligence that was between him and *Plato*, than the Jealouſy they conceived one againſt the other upon that account. Yet *Marcellinus* who attributes to *Thucydides* the height of Eloquence, gives the loweſt Rank to *Xenophon*, placing *Herodotus* between both. And *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, when he obſerves that *Xenophon* has often imitated *Herodotus*, adds, that the former was always much inferior to the latter.

BUT notwithſtanding this, it is very conſiderable that *Xenophon* was the firſt Philoſopher who applied himſelf to the compiling of a Hiſtory, which, in what relates to the *Grecian* Affairs, treats of the Tranſactions of eight and forty Years, and begins where *Thucydides* ended, ſhewing *Alcibiades* his Return to his Country, whom *Thucydides* in his laſt Book left meditating upon that Retreat. Nor is it a ſmall Glory to *Xenophon*, or the leaſt Part of his Praiſe, that *Thucydides* his Books, being then unknown, falling into his Hands, when he might with facility have ſuppreſſed them, or as a Plagiary aſcribed them to himſelf, he took care to publiſh them, by which Act of his, every Man may know what Honour he deſerved from thoſe who have an Eſteem for the *Grecian* Eloquence or Hiſtory, and the modern Criticks have not failed to give him equal Commendations. Beſides the Continuation of the Hiſtory begun by *Thucydides*,

Xenophon

Xenophon (as was ſaid before) has left us that of the Enterpriſe of young *Cyrus* againſt his Brother *Artaxerxes*, and the memorable Retreat of ten thouſand *Grecians* from the Extremity of *Perſia* to their own Country, in which he had almoſt the whole Honour, as well for his Counſel and Diſcipline, as the Excellency of his Conduct.

HIS *Cyropædia*, or what he writ of the Inſtitution of *Cyrus* the Elder, is not an hiſtorical Treatiſe, but purely Moral, where he drew the Figure of a great Prince without confining himſelf to the Truth, except in two or three Events, *viz.* the taking of *Babylon*, and the Captivity of *Crœſus*: All the reſt is feigned, and has nothing in it commendable, but the Agreeableneſs of the Fable. The Narrations of this Hiſtorian are very often Childiſh. *Hyſtaſpas*'s Story concerning the Soldier who was diſcontented with his Meſs, with many other Tales related by *Cyrus* and his Soldiers, are extremely frigid, and the Jeſts which paſs betwixt this General and his Men are mean and low, and inconſiſtent with Decorum. His Harangues for the moſt part are trifling and tedious. Every thing by *Xenophon* is made the Subject of an Harangue. *Cyrus* cannot give his Soldiers Horſe and Arms, without making a Speech; however his laſt Speech to his Son is very beautiful; his Exhortations to Brotherly Love, founded on Arguments of perſonal Experience and Knowledge, and the many political Inſtructions in this Speech, muſt pleaſe the Reader. His Account of the Soul, which he makes immortal when ſeparated from the Body, and the Return of the Body to its proper Elements, is entirely agreeable to Chriſtian Philoſophy. But above all, his Principles for Religion are moſt divine; whether the Soul be immortal or not, he ſtrictly

Xenophon & Cyrus

Immortality of the Soul

ſtrictly enjoins his Sons to reverence the Gods for their Eternity, Omniſcience and Omnipotency, and for preſerving the Order of the Univerſe for ſo many Ages without Confuſion or Detriment.

THE Compoſitions of *Xenophon*, of which we have ſpoken, are ſuch, that as they may ſerve for a Rule to the firſt Miniſter of State, in all the Extent of Politicks; ſo likewiſe they are capable to form great Captains, and give the World Generals; and we have two notable Examples of this among the *Romans*; for they acknowledge that their *Scipio*, ſurnamed *Africanus*, had almoſt always *Xenophon*'s Works in his Hands, and that nothing made *Lucullus* capable to oppoſe ſuch a formidable Enemy as King *Mithridates*, but the reading the Writings of *Xenophon*. Of which *Lucullus* made ſo good Uſe by Sea, (he who before had a very ſmall Inſight into the Affairs of War) that he knew enough afterwards to gain thoſe famous Victories, which few of the Learned are ignorant of, and whereby the moſt conſiderable Provinces of *Aſia* became tributary to the *Romans*. In ſhort, *Xenophon*, whether he writes of the Management of Family Affairs, or the more arduous Matters of State and Policy, whether he gives an Account of the Wars of the *Grecians*, or the Morals of *Socrates*, the Style, tho' ſo far varied as to be ſuitable to every Subject, yet is always clear and ſignificant, ſweet without Luſciouſneſs, and elegantly eaſy. In this genteel Author we have all the Politeneſs of a ſtudied Compoſition, and yet all the Freedom and winning Familiarity of elegant Converſation.

Xenophon inſtructs Scipio and Lucullus.

DEMOSTHENES.

DEMOSTHENES, the Father of this *Demoſthenes*, was a Citizen of *Athens* of the beſt Rank and Quality (ſays *Theopompus*) and ſurnamed the *Sword-maker*, becauſe he had a large Work-houſe, and kept Servants ſkilful in that Art at Work: Tho' others aſſert he was a common *Blackſmith*. His Mother (if we believe *Æſchines*) was deſcended of one *Gelon*, who fled his Country upon an Accuſation of Treaſon, and of a *Barbarian* Woman.

He loſt his Father when he was but ſeven Years old, who left him in a plentiful Condition, for the Value of his Eſtate was about fifteen Talents. After his Death he fell into the Hands of Guardians, that too much conſulted their own Intereſt, and partly through Negligence and partly through Covetouſneſs, took not that Care of his Education which they ought; ſo that he learned ſcarce any of thoſe things, which it is the Buſineſs of Parents generally to fix in the Minds of Children, when they firſt begin to enter upon a Courſe of Study. His Mother gave Encouragement to this Neglect, by her too great Fondneſs of him. 'Tis true indeed he was of ſo tender a Conſtitution, and enjoy'd ſuch an ill ſtate of Health, that he could not follow his Studies with much Application. As ſoon as he was ſixteen Years of Age, which is the proper Time for the learning of Rhetoric, inſtead of being ſent to the School of *Iſocrates*, who was then in moſt Eſteem, he was placed with the Orator *Iſæus*, becauſe as his Reputation

putation was leſs than that of others, ſo were his Demands; and it was there that he contracted thoſe ill Habits, which he himſelf tells us, he afterwards broke himſelf of with great difficulty.

HIS eager Inclination to the Study of Oratory was occaſioned by *Calliſtratus*, who being to plead in open Court upon a remarkable Cauſe, the Expectation of the Iſſue was very great, as well for the Ability of the Orator, who had then a moſt flouriſhing Reputation, as alſo for the Fame of the Action it ſelf. Therefore *Demoſthenes* having heard the Tutors and the Schoolmaſters agree among themſelves to be preſent at this Trial, with much Importunity perſuades his Tutor to take him along with him to the Hearing; who having ſome Acquaintance with the Door-keepers, eaſily procured a Place where the Youth might ſit unſeen, and hear what was ſaid. *Calliſtratus* carrying the Cauſe, and being much admired, *Demoſthenes* began to look upon his Glory with a kind of Emulation, obſerving the Applauſe he received from the Audience. From this Time therefore bidding farewel to other Sorts of Learning and puerile Diſcipline, he now began to exerciſe himſelf, and to take pains in Declaiming, as if he meant indeed to be an Orator: And he ſoon found Occaſion to exerciſe his Talent, for he was obliged to go to Law with his Guardians *Aphobus* and *Onetor*, and to write Orations againſt them, who in the mean time found out many Subterfuges and Tricks to renew the Suits; but being thus exerciſed in Declaiming and ſucceeding in it, though not without ſome Toil and Hazard, he could not for all this recover any conſiderable Part of his Father's Eſtate; however, attaining by this Means a Confidence in Speaking, and ſome competent Experience in it,

and

and having got a Taſte of the Honour and Power which are acquired by Pleadings, he now ventured to advance further, and to undertake Publick Buſineſs.

BUT when he firſt addreſſed himſelf to the popular Aſſemblies, he met with great Diſcouragements, and was derided for this odd and uncouth way of ſpeaking, his Periods were confuſed, and his Arguments forced, which made all ſeem very harſh and tedious. Beſides, he had a Weakneſs in his Voice, a perplexed and indiſtinct Utterance, and a Shortneſs of Breath, which by breaking and disjointing his Sentences, much obſcured and weakened the Senſe of what he ſpoke; ſo that in the End being quite disheartened, he left off Pleading for ſome time, and forſook the Aſſembly. But by the Advice, and partly by the Upbraidings of his Friends, he determined at length to overcome all Difficulties, and being convinced how much Grace and Ornament accrues to Speech from a proper Action, he began to eſteem it a ſmall Matter, and as good as nothing for a Man to exerciſe himſelf in Declaiming, if he neglected Pronunciation and the Decency of Speaking. What Nature denied him, he reſolved to attain by Labour, and his Eagerneſs in the Purſuit of Eloquence was ſo violent, that he found nothing impoſſible or diſproportioned to its Force. So that it was nothing but Ambition that formed him, and made him conquer the vicious Inclinations of an Age that had a Reliſh of nothing but Pleaſure, and that too in a City where all manner of Wickedneſs was authoriz'd by the ill Examples of a People wholly given to Luxury and Debauchery. And this made him prefer the Converſation of *Theophraſtus* and *Xenocrates* and of the *Platoniſts*, before that of *Phryne*,

Phryne, in whoſe Houſe there was a general Rendezvous of all that was notoriouſly infamous in *Athens*.

NAY, he would impoſe upon himſelf a Neceſſity of retiring for ſome Time from the Converſation of the World, which he did by a very odd Expedient, which was to ſhave half his Head, that upon the Account of the Shame of that Deformity, he might be obliged to hide himſelf for ſome Months. One may in a manner ſay of him, that he was content to be buried alive, or at leaſt that he would not live for any other End, but to apply himſelf to the Study of Eloquence, to which he had devoted all his Thoughts.

THIS Retirement, and all the other Hardſhips he underwent, which are mentioned ſo much to his Honour, are evident Tokens, and remarkable Inſtances of the Violence of his Inclinations. Can any thing be conceived more unaccountable than to go as he did and declaim upon the Sea-Shore, that by hearing the roaring of the Waves, he might accuſtom himſelf ſo as not to be diſturbed at the Commotions of the People, and the Noiſe and Tumult of Aſſemblies? What is there more painful than to ſpeak as he did, with Vehemence, climbing up to the Top of ſteep and craggy Places, that he might thereby ſtrengthen his Voice? His Tongue was ſo unwieldy that he could not pronounce certain Letters without much Difficulty, to correct which Defect he uſed to declaim with his Mouth full of Pebble-Stones. He alſo practiſed ſpeaking to a Looking-glaſs, that he might thereby acquire a graceful Air, eaſy and natural; and he had alſo recourſe to a celebrated Comedian of thoſe Times, called *Neoptolemus*, to learn of him how to pronounce well, and make himſelf

himſelf Maſter of all the exterior Ornaments and Graces of Action. He laboured Night and Day, outwatched the poor Mechanic in *Athens* (that was forced to perpetual Drudgery to ſupport himſelf and his Family) till he had acquired ſuch a Maſtery in his Noble Profeſſion, ſuch a perfect Habit of nervous and convincing Eloquence, as enabled him to defy the ſtrongeſt Oppoſition, and to triumph over Envy and Time. By theſe Fatigues, and by this unwearied Perſeverance, he came at laſt to ſurmount all thoſe Impediments in his Speech, and all thoſe other Imperfections which ſo much diſguſted the *Athenians* the firſt Time he ſpoke in Publick.

THE Cauſe he undertook in the Commonwealth was fair and honourable, in the Defence of his Country againſt *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, as the famous Orations called *Philippicks* do abundantly teſtify. He behaved himſelf ſo worthily in the Cauſe of Liberty, that he ſoon grew famous, and was every where admired for his Eloquence and Courage in ſpeaking. He was adored through all *Greece*; the great King of *Perſia* courted him, and by *Philip* himſelf he was more eſteemed than all the other Orators. His very Enemies were forced to confeſs that they had to do with a Man of Worth and Honour. He obſerved that Steadineſs in his Conduct, that the Party and Way of Government which he held with from the beginning, to thoſe he kept conſtant to the End, and was ſo far from leaving them while he lived, that he choſe rather to forſake his Life than to abandon his Friends. The Authority, Armies, Threats and Promiſes of *Philip* could never work upon him; and to uſe the Expreſſion of *Plutarch*, All the Gold of *Macedonia* could not bribe him.

This

This made *Antipater*, one of *Alexander*'s Succeſſors ſay, *That had any one of his Miniſters been as uncorrupt as* Demoſthenes, *he had been invincible.* That which this Prince adds, gives us ſtill a greater Idea of the Virtue of this Orator: It was the Love of his Country that prevailed upon him to undertake the Government; for he made that the Employment of his Virtue, which others had engaged in to ſerve their Intereſt. Such a Man as this, ſays he, would be very neceſſary for me, to adviſe with me in my preſent Affairs, to hear him who would ſpeak his Mind frankly and freely amidſt the feigned Applauſes of Flatterers. Such a ſincere and faithful Councellor it is I ſeem to want, to direct me amidſt all theſe Court Diſſimulations. But tho' he defended himſelf againſt the *Macedonian* Gold offered him by *Philip*, who was a ſworn Enemy to the *Athenians*, he could not reſiſt the *Perſian* Preſent that was made him by *Darius*, who was a Friend to the Commonwealth.

HIS inveterate Hatred of *Philip* urged him to ſpirit up a War, by uniting all *Greece* in a Confederacy againſt him; but the *Macedonian* Arms prevailed. In this Action *Demoſthenes* behaved with great Cowardice; for deſerting his Poſt, and throwing down his Arms, he ran away moſt ſhamefully, not at all concerned (ſays *Plutarch*) for the Inſcription which was written upon his Shield in Letters of Gold, *With good Fortune.* He was ſo diſtracted with Fear, that he miſtook a Buſh that caught hold of his Coat for an Enemy, and cry'd out *Quarter.* This Defeat gave Occaſion to his Enemies to accuſe him to the People, but he was honourably acquitted. After the Death of *Philip* he attempted the ſame Deſigns againſt *Alexander*, he beſtirred himſelf in the Roſtrum, and writ Letters

Letters to the *Perſian* Officers who commanded under the King in *Aſia*, inciting them to make War from thence upon the *Macedonian*, calling him *Child* and *Changeling*. But as ſoon as *Alexander* had ſettled his Affairs in his own Country, and came himſelf in Perſon with his Army into *Bœotia*, down fell the Courage of the *Athenians*, the People were in an Uproar, and reſolved to ſend Embaſſadors to the young Prince, and amongſt others they made choice of *Demoſthenes* for one; but his Heart failing him for fear of the King's Anger, he returned back from *Cithæron*, and left the Embaſſy. In the mean time *Alexander* ſent to *Athens*, requiring ten of their Orators to be delivered up to him, but by the Interceſſion of *Demades*, he prevailed with him both to pardon the Men, and to be reconciled to their City.

SOON after this *Demoſthenes* gave his Enemies a remarkable Advantage againſt him; for they found Reaſon to accuſe him of having received twenty Talents, with a Piece of Plate of great Value, from an Officer of *Alexander*'s; who being diſgraced for Male-Adminiſtration of his Revenues, was retired to *Athens*. This Preſent brought him under a Suſpicion, becauſe it came from one who had been a Creature of the moſt declared Enemy the Commonwealth had. *Dinarchus*, prevailed upon by the Enemies of *Demoſthenes*, accuſed him on that Account of Bribery to the People, and ſuch was his Misfortune that he could not be heard in Juſtification of himſelf. The Eſteem they had for him was turned into Contempt, and when he came to the Bar he was fined fifty Talents, and committed to Priſon. But ſoon growing impatient and weary of his Confinement, he made his Eſcape. He was purſued and retaken, and then

baniſhed. He bore his Exile after a very unmanly Faſhion, but was ſoon recalled by a Decree of the People.

UPON the Report that *Antipater* and *Craterus* after *Alexander*'s Death, were coming to *Athens*, *Demoſthenes* with his Party took their Opportunity to eſcape privily out of the City; but at the Inſtance of *Demades* they were condemned. They diſperſed themſelves, flying ſome to one Place, ſome to another, and *Antipater* ſent about his Soldiers into all Quarters to apprehend them. *Archias* was their Captain, and was thence called, *The Exile Hunter*. *Demoſthenes* he heard had taken Sanctuary at the Temple of *Neptune* in *Calabria*; and croſſing over thither in ſome light Veſſels, as ſoon as he had landed himſelf and the *Thracian* Spearmen that came with him, he endeavoured to perſuade *Demoſthenes* that he would accompany him to *Antipater*, as if he ſhould meet with no hard Uſage from him; but *Demoſthenes* giving no Credit to his Promiſes, took the Poiſon which he had carried about with him in a Quill, and perceiving it had ſeized his Vitals, *Go*, ſays he, *and let thy Maſter know, that* Demoſthenes *will not upon any Account be obliged to the Uſurper of his Country*; and then expired.

AFTER his Death the People of *Athens* beſtowed upon him ſuch Honours as he had deſerved; they erected his Statue of Braſs, they decreed that the eldeſt of his Family ſhould be maintained in the *Prytaneum*, and on the Baſe of his Statue was engraven this famous Inſcription:

If with the Wiſdom of thy Mind
An equal Courage had been join'd,
Greece *ne'er had ſuffer'd ſo great Harms,*
Enſlav'd by Macedonian *Arms.*

DEMOSI-

DEMOSTOENES was of a cholerick, melancholy Temper; the Heavineſs which proceeded from his Melancholy, made him obſtinate and reſolute in whatever he had undertaken, and his Choler inſpired him with Vigour and Activity to perform it. Tho' this Temper made him ſomewhat chagrine, yet at the ſame time it made him ſerious, which contributed to his Reputation: For it was from his Temper that the Severity of his Manners proceeded, which gained him the Opinion of a Perſon of great Integrity in the State, and inſpired him with Courage to declare himſelf againſt *Philip* and *Alexander*, the Conquerors of the World.

He had likewiſe naturally a great and noble Genius towards all the Sciences, and a Spirit that enabled him to ſurmount all the Difficulties he met with in his Endeavours after Eloquence. To his natural Vehemency he added ſuch lively exterior Actions, that it was impoſſible to hear him without feeling at the very Bottom of one's Soul the moſt ſenſible Effects. *Valerius Maximus* tells us that he had a very quick and briſk Eye, the Motions of which he took the Advantage of to expreſs in his very Face whatever Action was requiſite to his Subject, and to make himſelf look terrible whenever there was occaſion. He gave his Voice ſuch an Inflexion, and ſuch a Tone to his Words, and ſuch an Air to all his Actions, that he gained the Admiration of all that heard him. And this Vehemency of Action, joined with that of Expreſſion, is what makes up the Character of that powerful Eloquence which none ever arrived to but *Demoſthenes*, as *Longinus* aſſures us, and of which *Quintilian* has left us ſo fair a Deſcription in his Inſtitutions; where he ſays that *Demoſthenes* made what

what Impreſſions he pleaſed upon thoſe that heard him, by inſpiring them with his own Sentiments and Paſſions, or by raiſing thoſe they were already poſſeſſed of, by making them ſenſible of all his Ardour; and by ſtirring up in them Anger, Envy, or Indignation againſt thoſe he was himſelf againſt; and that this was the principal Art in which his Eloquence conſiſted.

WHAT *Lucian* ſays of this Orator, by the Mouth of *Alexander*'s Succeſſor, contributes highly to his Glory. Had it not been for *Demoſthenes*, ſays King *Antipater*, I had taken *Athens* with leſs Difficulty than I did *Thebes*; but he was every where to oppoſe my Deſigns, he could by no means be ſurprized, but was alone more formidable than Fleets and Armies. What would he have done had he had the Command of an Army, or the Adminiſtration of the publick Revenues, when we found it a Matter of ſuch Difficulty to defend ourſelves againſt the Force and Power of his Words? King *Philip* reflecting how terrible this Man would have been had he had any warlike Command, when the Thunder of his Eloquence was ſo dreadful, ſays in the ſame Place, Let no one call the *Athenians* my Enemies, for I know none I have but *Demoſthenes*; it is he alone that wages War with me, that oppoſes my Deſigns, and fruſtrates all my Enterprizes. So that this incomparable Perſon gave that Prince more Trouble, and more confounded his Affairs, than the *Pyreum* with all its Gallies, or the united Force of all *Greece*. *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* confeſſes, that the Eloquence of this Orator made the ſame Impreſſion upon him, as the Myſteries of the Goddeſs *Cybele* did upon her Prieſts. But nothing ſeems more to raiſe the Glory of this great Man, than what *Quintilian* ſays

+ Praiſe of Demosthenes by Antipater of his enemy - Alexanders Successor in Macedon -

of him, That it was the Eloquence of *Demoſthenes* that made *Cicero* an Orator; and this is what *Tully* himſelf acknowledges when he ſays, that he made it his Endeavour to follow him, but could never attain to it. Theſe Inſtances of Applauſe may be juſtly oppoſed to the Invectives of *Juvenal* and *Sidonius*, who have reproached *Demoſthenes* with the Obſcurity of his Birth, as if the Faculties of the Soul, and the natural Abilities of every Man, depended upon the Circumſtances of his Nativity.

NOTHING can give us a better Idea of the great Advantage *Demoſthenes* had over all other Men, in the Art of Pronunciation, and in a graceful Action, than the Teſtimony of his greateſt Rival. For *Æſchines* being caſt in a Suit he was engaged in againſt *Cteſiphon*, whom *Demoſthenes* had defended, for Shame and Grief had retired to *Rhodes*, where ſome of his Friends importuning him to repeat to them the Oration he had made againſt *Cteſiphon*, he read it over to them; upon which they requeſted likewiſe of him to let them hear that which *Demoſthenes* had made againſt him, which he likewiſe did, and read it to them very diſtinctly; whereupon they all began to admire it: *But what would you have done*, ſaid he, *had you heard him ſpeak it himſelf?*

TO this animating Power of Action he had join'd the equal Force of great and noble Expreſſions, of lively Deſcriptions, of moving Paſſages, proper to affect and make ſtrong Impreſſions upon the Mind. All his Diſcourſes were full of expreſſive Figures, of frequent Apoſtrophe's, and reiterated Interrogatories, which gave Life and Vigour to, and animated all he ſaid; as *Longinus* obſerves. So that we may truly affirm, never any other

Orator raiſed his Anger, Hatred, Indignation, and indeed all his Paſſions to that Height as *Demoſthenes* did. And this doubtleſs was the Reaſon that made *Demetrius Phalereus* ſay, *That he harangued as if he had been inſpired*; and *Eratoſthenes* in *Plutarch*, *That he ſpoke like an Enthuſiaſt.* For he was, as it were, in Raptures when he ſpoke, by the Heat of his Action, and the violent Tranſport of his Imagination.

WHAT ſhall I ſay of that ſharp Style wherewith he ſtirred up the Mind of the *Athenian* Republick againſt *Philip*, without any Regard to his Quality? of thoſe bitter Invectives he made againſt *Medias* in order to make him odious and obnoxious to the Publick Hatred? of thoſe vehement Tranſports of Paſſion he was in againſt *Æſchines* in his Oration for *Cteſiphon*? of all thoſe frequent Invocations of the Gods? of thoſe Apoſtrophe's to the Sun and Stars? of thoſe Oaths by Heaven and Earth, by Fountains and Rivers, according to the Maxims of his Religion? and of thoſe ſtrange forc'd Figures, and of all thoſe violent Paſſions, and furious Commotions which we meet with in ſeveral Parts of his Diſcourſes? To all which he adds a Tone more thundering than that of *Pericles*, whom he had propoſed for his Imitation. And this Vehemency of Action, join'd with that of Expreſſion, is what makes up the Character of that powerful Eloquence which none ever arrived to but *Demoſthenes.*

HE had alſo a particular Talent in repreſenting Things exactly with all their Circumſtances, which is of no ſmall moment, in order to gain Credit with the People; to whom all Things ſeem to have a greater Degree of Probability, if they are but well circumſtantiated. And he had ſo exquiſite an Art in

in painting all Things according to Nature, that the meereſt Fables, as he related them, would prevail more upon the Account of that ſimple plain Way he delivered them in, than the moſt ſubſtantial Reaſons, than the moſt convincing Truths alledged by others. And theſe kind of Repreſentations of Things taken according to Nature, were what he had wonderful Succeſs in.

THE Eloquence of *Demoſthenes*, ſays *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, was very artificial, he could turn and wind, and tread the moſt unbeaten Paths, to come to his propoſed End with the greater Security. But tho' he had a moſt admirable Talent at diſplaying his Reaſons to the beſt Advantage, and at eſtabliſhing his Arguments upon firm and laſting Foundations, yet was he infinitely more expert at confuting thoſe of his Adverſaries by the Strength of his *Enthymemes*, which were ſo celebrated by all Antiquity. And he never appeared more powerful than when he was moſt powerfully attack'd; as we may obſerve in his Oration for *Cteſiphon*, the Succeſs of which riſes as to its Value in proportion to the greatneſs of the Merit of *Æſchines* his Adverſary. Never was any Affair tranſacted by two Orators with greater Heat and Fury, or with greater Application; for they were full four Years in preparing their Matter. This Animoſity, which reſounded throughout all *Greece*, brought together from all Parts a mighty Concourſe of Auditors to aſſiſt at this Deciſion, and to ſee a Tryal of Skill between theſe two great Men, who were ſo celebrated for their Emulation.

BUT as this Vehemence was the principal Character of this Orator, ſo *Photius* aſſures us, that thoſe Harangues he made to the People, had more Force and Energy in them, than thoſe he made to

Enthymeme a favorite argument of Demosthenes — by proposition and answer to confute an opponent
Demosthenes & Æschines —
The oration for Ctesiphon —

the Senate; for whatever is great and noble in Eloquence, is ſo to advantage when delivered before a great Aſſembly. It is true indeed, that the Credit he had gained in the State by the Integrity of his Intentions, authorized him to ſay any thing, and to ſpeak to this People with Indignation and Reſentment, who were of that Temper, that they muſt be preſſed to their Duty. The Sharpneſs this Orator uſed, and the frequent Inſtances he gave them of his being angry and enraged at them, were not in the leaſt diſpleaſing to them, when they were once ſenſible that there was a Neceſſity of waking them out of that Lethargy into which their natural Negligence and Idleneſs had led them. And *Demoſthenes*, that he might more ſecurely manage this Sort of People, who were truly proud and haughty, but withal timorous and cowardly, made a great Show of his Zeal for the good of the State upon all Emergencies. They had accuſtomed themſelves to bear his Invectives and Reproaches, by reaſon of the Fruit they often reaped from his good Counſels. Neither was he himſelf ignorant how requiſite it was to appear ſometimes angry and ſevere, that he might be uſeful to thoſe that heard him.

THERE was nevertheleſs in this auſtere kind of Eloquence a great deal of ſolid Reaſon, of ſound Judgment and good Senſe, without any falſe Colours, without any thing that is weak or ſuperficial; and his Reproaches, how ſevere ſoever, were always taken in good part, becauſe he back'd them with ſuch weighty Reaſons and Arguments, as were irreſiſtible. His Language was the common Dialect, having nothing in it that was far fetch'd, or exquiſitely nice; yet it was very pure and highly agreeable to the Delicacy of Taſte then prevalent.

valent at *Athens*. But he had an Art of giving his Language, as plain as it was, all the Life and Vigour that could be; ſo that he pleaſed, by the vehemence of his Action. It is obſerved, that the longer he ſpoke, the finer his Orations were. I ſhould never end, were I to take in all that could be produced upon this Subject; what has been already ſaid, will give us an Idea of the extraordinary Worth of this great Man, and a juſt Eſtimate of his Merit.

He flouriſhed in the Reign of *Philip* of *Macedon*. The Time of his Birth and of his Death is uncertain. It is ſuppoſed he was born about the Year of *Rome* three hundred and ſeventy-three, and lived about threeſcore Years.

POLYBIUS.

THE taking of *Conſtantinople* by *Mahomet* the *Great*, fell in the latter Times of Pope *Nicholas* the Fifth, a Pope not only ſtudious of good Letters, and particularly of Hiſtory, but alſo a great Encourager of it in others. From the dreadful Overthrow of that City and final Subverſion of the *Greek* Empire many learned Men eſcaped, and brought over with them into *Italy*, that Treaſure of ancient Authors, which, by their Unhappineſs we now poſſeſs; and among the reſt ſome of the remaining Fragments of *Polybius*. The Body of his Hiſtory, as he left it finiſhed, conſiſted of forty Books, of which the eighth Part is only remaining to us entire. As for his Negociations when he was ſent Embaſſador, either from his own Countrymen the Commonwealth of the *Achaians*, or afterwards

terwards was employed by the *Romans* on their Buſineſs with other Nations, we are obliged to *Conſtantine* the Great for their Preſervation; for that Emperor was ſo much in love with the dextrous Management and Wiſdom of this *Grecian*, that he cauſed them all to be faithfully tranſcribed, and made frequent uſe of them in his own Diſpatches and Affairs with foreign Princes, as his beſt Guides, in his Concernments with them.

NONE that converſe with Books can be ignorant that *Polybius* was of *Megalopolis*, a City in *Arcadia*. He began to flouriſh in the times of *Ptolemy Philometer*, and was born about the fourth Year of the Hundred and forty-third *Olympiad*. He was the Son of *Lycortus*, General of the *Achaians*, which was the moſt renowned Republick then in *Greece*. That great State ſent them, both Father and Son, in the Quality of Embaſſadors to the *Egyptian* King; and the Son had afterwards the ſame Honour when he was deputed to go to the *Roman* Conſul, who made war upon King *Perſeus* in *Theſſaly*. He was born noble, and as he received at his Birth, great Gifts from Nature which favoured his Deſign of writing Hiſtory, ſo that Chance of Fortune which brought him to *Rome* was of no ſmall Advantage to him; ſince he was indebted to it not only for the beſt Part of his Learning, but for the important Friendſhip he contracted with *Scipio*, and *Lelius*, which contributed much to the Celebration of his Hiſtory to Poſterity.

BUT the pains he took in the Acquiſition of all that could put him into a Capacity of writing well and labouring for Eternity, ſeems worthy to be conſidered. He thought he could make no exact Deſcription, nor be confident of the Authority of his Memorials from whatſoever Place he ſhould have

have them, if he had not rectified them by his own Sight; viewing himself the Countries he intended to treat of. He resolved therefore to be well acquainted with many Places, as well of *Europe*, as *Asia* and *Africa*, whither he went purposely to be assured of what he should write of them. And he used *Scipio*'s Authority to procure Vessels fit to sail upon the *Atlantick* Ocean, judging that what he should there observe would prove useful to his Design. It is certain that he passed the *Alps*, and one Part of *Gaul*, to represent truly *Hannibal*'s Passage into *Italy*; and fearing to omit the least Circumstance of the same *Scipio*'s Actions, he travelled all over *Spain*, and stopt particularly at *New Carthage*, that he might carefully study the Situation of it.

POLYBIUS, tho' he principally intended the History of the *Romans*, and the Establishment of their Empire over the greatest Part of the World which was then known, yet he had in his eye the general History of the Times, in which he lived, not forgetting either the Wars of his own Country with their Neighbours of *Ætolia*, or the concurrent Affairs of *Macedonia*, and the Provinces of *Greece*, (which is properly so called) nor the Monarchies of *Asia* and *Egypt*, nor the Republick of the *Carthaginians*, with the several Traverses of their Fortunes, either in relation to the *Romans*, or independent to the Wars which they waged with them, besides what happened in *Spain* and *Sicily*, and other *European* Countries. The time which is taken up in this History consists of fifty-three Years, and the greatest Part of it is employed in the Description of those Events of which he was an Eye-witness, or bore a considerable Part in the Conduct of them. He was fully qualified to execute

cute the great Deſign he engaged in; for tho' poſſibly he might yield to one or two of the *Greek* Hiſtorians in the Praiſe of Eloquence, yet in Wiſdom and all other Accompliſhments belonging to a perfect Hiſtorian, he was at leaſt equal to any other Writer *Greek* or *Roman*, and perhaps excelled them all. He comes recommended by the Nobility of his Birth, by his Inſtitution in Arts and Sciences, by his Knowledge in natural and moral Philoſophy, and particularly the Politicks; by being converſant both in the Arts of Peace and War; by his Education under his Father *Lycortus*, who voluntarily depoſed himſelf from his Sovereignty of *Megalopolis* to become a principal Member of the *Achaian* Commonwealth, which then flouriſhed under the Management of *Aratus*; by his Friendſhip with *Scipio Africanus*, who ſubdued *Carthage*, to whom he was both a Companion and a Counſellor; and by the Good-will, Eſteem and Intimacy which he had with ſeveral Princes of *Aſia*, *Greece* and *Egypt*, during his Life; and after his Deceaſe, by deſerving the Applauſe and Approbation of all ſucceeding Ages.

WE may form a Judgment of the Worth and Greatneſs of this Writer by the Number of Statues erected to his Honour, by the *Greeks* at *Palantium*, *Mantinæa*, *Tegæa*, *Megalopolis*, and other Cities of *Arcadia*; the Inſcription of one of which teſtifies, ſays *Pauſanias*, that he travelled over all Seas and Lands, was a Friend and Ally to the *Romans*, and reconciled them, being then incenſed againſt the *Grecians*; and another Inſcription is thus, *If* Greece *had at firſt purſued the Counſel of* Polybius, *it had not offended; but being now miſerably afflicted, he is her only Comfort and Support.* He is mentioned with great Honour by *Cicero*, *Strabo*, *Joſephus* and *Plutarch*;

tarch; and in what Rank of Writers they are placed, none of the Learned need to be informed. He is copy'd in whole Books together by *Livy*, commonly eſteemed the Prince of the *Roman* Hiſtory, and tranſlated word for word; tho' the *Latin* Hiſtorian is not to be excuſed for giving him only the dry Commendation of a Writer not to be deſpiſed, without confeſſing to whom he had been ſo much obliged. *Marcus Brutus*, who preferred the Freedom of his Country to the Obligations which he had to *Julius Cæſar*, ſo prized *Polybius*, that he made a Compendium of his Works, and read him not only for his Inſtruction, but for the Diverſion of his Grief, when his noble Enterprize for the Reſtoration of the Commonwealth had not found the Succeſs which it deſerved. And this is not the leaſt Commendation of this Hiſtorian, that he who was not wholly ſatisfied with the Eloquence of *Tully*, ſhould epitomize *Polybius* with his own hand. It was on the Conſideration of *Brutus*, and the Veneration which he paid him, that *Conſtantine* the Great took ſo great a pleaſure in reading him, and collecting the ſeveral Treaties of his Embaſſies; of which, tho' many are now loſt, yet thoſe which remain are a ſufficient Teſtimony of his great Abilities. He learned the *Roman* Tongue, and attained to that Knowledge of their Laws, their Rights, their Cuſtoms and Antiquities, that few of their own Citizens underſtood them better; having gained Permiſſion from the Senate to ſearch the Capitol, he made himſelf familiar with their Records, and afterwards tranſlated them into his Mother-Tongue: So that he taught the Noblemen of *Rome* their own municipal Laws, and was accounted more ſkilful in them than *Fabius Pictor*,

a Man of the Senatorian Order, who wrote the Tranſactions of the *Punick* Wars.

POLYBIUS was without all queſtion a very great Man; he was noble, and of the firſt Rank of his Country, a Soldier, a Stateſman, and a Philoſopher; and withal of an excellent Underſtanding; poliſhed and cultivated by Buſineſs and eminent Truſts, and temper'd and ballaſted by his own and his Country's Afflictions. So that it may be ſaid, no Man ever engaged in a Work of this Sort better furniſhed with Requiſites; and he ſeems to fill the Chair, when he treats diſtinctly on any of the above-named Subjects; but when he talks of War, which is the favourite Subject and Darling of Hiſtory, how like a General and perfect Maſter in that Trade does he acquit himſelf? How exact and painful is he in his Deſcriptions of Battles, by Land and Sea, deſcending to every Particular that may afford Light to his Reader? How finely, fruitfully, juſtly and morally, does he inſtruct and reaſon on Events of Councils, Battles, and all kind of Tranſactions? How does *Hannibal*'s Craft and Wiſdom, and *Flaminius*'s Raſhneſs and Folly, appear in his Account of the Battle of *Thraſymene*; inſomuch that from Readers we become Spectators of all thoſe Exploits? How faithful is he to the Character of the *Carthaginians*, in their Naval Knowledge and Strength? And with what Frankneſs, Aſſurance and Impartiality, does he ſhew the *Romans* Ignorance, and reprove their Raſhneſs, when he compares thoſe two People on the Subject of their martial Affairs and Adventures? All which we read with Pleaſure, and approve with Eaſe. So that in a word he will be found throughout to preſerve his Character of a brave, able and impartial Writer. The Subject

of

of his Hiſtory were all the moſt conſiderable Actions in the World, from the Beginning of the ſecond *Punick* War to the End of that which terminated the Differences of the *Romans* with the *Macedonian* Kings, by the utter Ruin of their Monarchy.

LA MOTHE takes occaſion to ſpeak of one *Sebaſtian Maccius*, who treating of Hiſtory, and declaiming againſt Digreſſions, condemns thoſe of *Salluſt* and *Polybius*; indecently calling them baſe-conditioned Fellows, and Men ſprung out of the Dregs of the People; and the more to defame the latter, he particularly adds, that he was a meer Pedant given to *Scipio*, to ſerve him in the quality of a Præceptor: But this Imputation is unlearned and ridiculous, for it is utterly improbable that a Perſon ſo exerciſed in Affairs of State, and accuſtomed to great Employments, as *Polybius* was, ſhould be known to *Scipio*, and accompany him in all his military Expeditions, for no other purpoſe than to inſtruct him in the Parts of Speech, and teach him the Rudiments of Grammar. There might be more reaſon perhaps to charge him, as ſome have done, with Impiety and Want of Religion in his Devotion to the Deity; for though he ſpeaks in many places very advantageouſly of the Worſhip of the Gods, as when he attributes all the Glory of *Arcadia*, his Country, to their great Care in ſerving the Altars, and elſewhere profeſſes that he abhors the Licentiouſneſs of War that cauſes the Deſtruction of Temples, which he makes to be a moſt capital Crime; yet he declares ſo formally in another place againſt the Divinity, and all thoſe who in his time held the Opinion of the Pains of Hell, that it appears evidently he believed nothing of the matter. And about the end

of the ſixth Book he obſerves that Superſtition, which was accounted a Vice by all other Nations, paſſed for a Virtue among the *Romans*. If one could, ſays he, compoſe a Republick only of wiſe and virtuous Men, all thoſe fabulous Opinions of Gods and Hell would be altogether ſuperfluous. But ſince there is no State where the People are not (as we ſee them) ſubject to Irregularities and evil Actions; one muſt, to bridle them, make uſe of thoſe imaginary Fears and the panick Terrors of the other World that our Religion imprints, and which the Ancients have ſo prudently introduced to this end, that they cannot be contradicted now by any but raſh Perſons, or thoſe who are not well in their wits. Let ſuch as defend *Polybius* in every thing (as *Caſaubon* has done) ſay what they pleaſe in his favour, they can never, after ſo formal a Declaration, make him paſs for a Perſon very zealous in the Religion of his time.

BESIDES the forty Books of his Univerſal Hiſtory, it is credible by one of the Letters which *Cicero* writ to *Lucceius*, that he made a particular Treatiſe of the War of *Numantia*. His great Age furniſhed him with Convenience to write much; ſince we underſtand from *Lucian*, that he paſſed the great climacterical Year, and died not till he was eighty-two Years old. He confeſſes himſelf, that the Advice of *Lelius*, which he often required in their ordinary Conferences, and the Memorials which that great Perſon furniſhed him withal, were very advantageous to him.

BUT as to his Manner of writing, the Learned have not agreed to beſtow upon him the Praiſe of Eloquence. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, the moſt ſtrict and auſtere Critick among them, calls him impolite, and reproaches him with Negligence both,

both in the Choice of Words and the Structure or Compoſition of his Periods. His Excellency nevertheleſs is ſuch in all other things, that one would ſuppoſe he neglected the Nicety of Words as of little Importance, to confine himſelf intirely to things more ſerious and ſignificant. He certainly deſerved the great Elogies given him by learned Men. *Polybius*, ſays *Bodin*, is not only every where equal and like himſelf, but alſo wiſe and grave, ſparing in his Commendations, ſharp and ſevere in his Reprehenſions, and like a prudent Lawgiver and a good Commander he diſputes many things concerning the military and civil Diſcipline, and the Duty of an Hiſtorian. *Lipſius* is more large in his Commendation. *Polybius*, in Judgment and Prudence, is not unlike *Thucydides*; but in his Care and Style more looſe and free; he flies out, breaks off, and dilates his Diſcourſe; and in many places does not ſo much relate as profeſſedly teach; but then his Advices are every where right and ſalutary, and I ſhould therefore the rather commend him toPrinces, becauſe there is no need of an anxious Enquiry into his Thoughts, but he himſelf opens and reveals his Senſe. *Polybius*, ſays *Rapin*, is more grave than *Thucydides*; he does not ſo often introduce *Scipio* ſpeaking, altho' he had a kind of right to do it; having all along waited upon him in his Wars. He has frequent Digreſſions upon Politicks, the Art of War, and the Laws of Hiſtory, which do not ſeem neceſſary. He is a greater Libertine than *Xenophon*, and treats the Opinions the People of thoſe days had of their Gods and Hell as Fables. But the moſt learned *Caſaubon*, in his Preface to *Polybius*, has moſt clearly and at large demonſtrated the Excellence of this *Grece* Writer, and wherein he is to be preferred before the other Hiſtorians.

DIODO-

DIODORUS SICULUS.

DIODORUS SICULUS was a Native of *Agyrium*, a City in *Sicily*, and flouriſhed in the time of *Julius Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*. He wrote at *Rome* his excellent Work, entitled *Bibliotheca Hiſtorica*, after having travelled thro' the greateſt part of *Aſia* and *Europe*, with incredible Hazards and Fatigue, to inform himſelf and collect Materials. He ſpent thirty Years in compoſing it, and collected it into forty Books, which took in the Subſtance of what the moſt renowned Hiſtorians had written before him; inſomuch that if this Work were ſtill compleat, we could not want a competent Knowledge of the firſt and remoteſt Ages.

BUT, to the great Grief of learned Men, of the forty Books only fifteen are now extant. The firſt five are entire, and give us an Account of the fabulous Times, and explain the Antiquities and Tranſactions of the *Egyptians*, *Aſſyrians*, *Perſians*, *Lybians*, *Grecians*, and other Nations before the *Trojan* War. The five next Books are wanting. The eleventh Book begins at *Xerxes*'s Expedition into *Greece*: From whence, to the End of the twentieth Book, which brings the Hiſtory down to the Year of the World three thouſand ſix hundred and fifty, the Work is entire; but the latter twenty Books are quite loſt. *Henry Stephens* aſſerts, from a Letter communicated to him by Mr. *Lazaro Baif*, that all the Works of *Diodorus* are found intire, in ſome Corner of *Sicily*. I confeſs, ſays *La Mothe*, upon this Occaſion I would willingly

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Narration of which it is compoſed. He blames him particularly for relating ſtrange and incredible Computations of Time, for inſerting that the *Egyptians* had preſerved their publick Records for an hundred thouſand Years; that the *Chaldeans* had made Obſervations of the heavenly Bodies, for the Space of four hundred ſeventy and two thouſand Years before *Alexander*'s Conqueſts in *Aſia*; that the *Egyptians* reckoned ſome ten and others three and twenty thouſand Years from *Iſis* and *Oſſiris*, to the ſame *Alexander*; and that their firſt Kings, who were Gods, did each of them reign no leſs than twelve hundred Years.

BUT *La Mothe*, with great Juſtice, vindicates the Credit of this Writer; he ſays, that *Diodorus* inſerted the *Egyptian Ephemerides*, and the Aſtronomical Calculations of the *Chaldeans*, only to ſhew what was the common Belief of thoſe People; not inſiſting that he himſelf was of that Opinion. He is ſo far from it, that he ſays expreſly in his ſecond Book, that he cannot poſſibly acquieſce to what the College of *Chaldeans* had determined of the long Space of Time which preceded the Victories of *Alexander*. I am ſo far, ſays the *French* Critick again, from condemning the Fables and excellent Mythology in the firſt five Books of *Diodorus*, that in my Opinion we have nothing more precious in all that remains of Antiquity; for beſides that Fables may be ſeriouſly told, and that *Plato*'s *Timæus*, with many other Works of great conſequence, would be uſeleſs upon this Suppoſition, yet theſe are of that uſe to give us a notion of the whole Theology of the Idolaters. And if it were lawful to give a holy Name to a profane Thing, I might call the five fore-mentioned Books the Bible of Paganiſm; ſince

ſince they teach us at the firſt View what the *Gentiles* believed of Eternity, and of the Creation of the World. So that they give us ſo perfect an Idea of the Theogony of the *Egyptians*, which was afterwards followed by the *Greeks*, that without them we ſhould have been Strangers to theſe uſeful Diſcoveries, and theſe moſt curious Relations would have been unknown to us.

THE Time of thoſe two Emperors, *Cæſar* and *Auguſtus*, is allowed to have been the pureſt Age of the *Latin* Tongue; but not ſo of the *Greek*, in their Reigns the *Athenian* Eloquence was already transferred to *Rome*. It is no wonder then, that *Diodorus* is not equal in this reſpect to *Herodotus*, *Thucydides* or *Xenophon*, being a *Sicilian* only, and under the Diſadvantage of writing at ſuch a Seaſon. *Photius* nevertheleſs does not forbear to praiſe his Style, as being very clear, unaffected, and proper for his Subject, which is Hiſtory. It is, ſays he, neither too *Attick*, nor too full of old Words; his Manner of Writing obſerves a juſt Mediocrity between the moſt ſublime Style, and the other which the School calls humble and creeping upon the account of its Lowneſs, which is carefully avoided by this Hiſtorian.

DIODORUS is commended by *Juſtin Martyr*, as the moſt renowned and eſteemed of all the *Greek* Hiſtorians, and by his Writings takes occaſion to prove the Excellence and Antiquity of *Moſes* the great Lawgiver of the *Hebrews*; and when he would inſinuate that *Homer* had learned in *Egypt* the moſt beautiful Paſſages with which he adorned his Poeſie, he uſes for it the Authority of *Diodorus*, whom he does not name without Praiſe. *Euſebius* goes beyond *Juſtin Martyr*, both in Titles of Honour and Citations of Paſſages drawn from this Hiſtorian

Hiſtorian, with which he fills all the Books of his Evangelical Preparation. And when he treats of the Beginning of the World, and of what the Ancients believed of the Sun and Moon, and of the Cuſtom which the *Carthaginians* had to ſacrifice Men, and of infinite other Subjects which fall into his principal Deſign, he always alledges *Diodorus*; but he does it chiefly when he examines the Theology of the *Egyptians* in his ſecond Book, where he very much extols the Fame of him; he calls him a moſt illuſtrious Writer, moſt exact in his Narrations, and one in high Eſteem among the Learned for his profound Doctrine; and he adds, that there is no *Grecian* who is not deſirous to read him and allow him the Preference above other Writers in the ſame Language. But when he inſiſts in his tenth Book, that *Greece* had received from the Hands of thoſe it eſteemed barbarous, and particularly from the *Jews*, all the Sciences and Learning for which it had ſo great a value; it is in that he attributes to him the greateſt Honour: For after he had uſed the Teſtimonies of *Clement*, *Porphyry*, *Plato*, *Democritus*, *Heraclitus*, *Joſephus*, and other Authors, he finiſhes his Proof with a Quotation out of the firſt Book of that incomparable Hiſtory, *to the end*, ſays he, *that the Authority of* Diodorus *may be as a Seal to all my Demonſtration.*

DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSEUS.

IF this Writer had not ſaid of himſelf in the Beginning of his Hiſtory, that he lived in the Reign

Reign of *Auguſtus*, we might be well aſſured of it from *Strabo*; who ſpeaking of the City of *Halicarnaſſus*, obſerves that it gave the World two illuſtrious Perſons, *Herodotus*, and in our time, ſays he, *Dionyſius* the Hiſtorian.

AMONG many Writers who bore the Name of *Dionyſius*, *Suidas* makes mention of another beſides him we ſpeak of, who was of *Halicarnaſſus* alſo, and of his Poſterity. He appeared under the Emperor *Adrian*, with the Surname of *Muſicus*; becauſe, tho' he was an Orator, his principal Talent lay in Muſick; of which he compoſed many Books. As for our Hiſtorian, he came to *Rome* a ſhort time after *Auguſtus* had happily finiſhed the Civil Wars, and continued there two and twenty Years: He employed his time in learning the *Latin* Tongue, and collecting Materials for the Deſign he had laid of writing his Hiſtory. For this purpoſe he conſulted all Books, all the Commentaries and Annals that had been written by *Romans* of Learning and Credit, about the Concerns of the State, Old *Cato*, *Fabius Maximus*, *Valerius Antias*, *Licinius Macer*, and ſome others. He acknowledges that the Converſation he had with the learned Men of that Imperial City, and his frequent Conference with the greateſt Genius's of the Age, were of no leſs ſervice to him than all his own Diligence and Application.

HIS Hiſtory treats of the *Roman* Antiquities, which he compriſed in twenty Books, whereof there remains no more than the firſt eleven to this age, which conclude with the time when the Conſuls reſumed the chief Authority in the Republick, after the Government of the *Decemviri*, which happened three hundred and twelve Years after the Foundation of *Rome*. The whole Work comprehended

prehended much more; for it paſſed from taking of *Troy* over the fabulous and hiſtorical Time, to the Beginning of the firſt *Punick* War; ending where *Polybius* begins his Hiſtory. In order to a clear Notice of the *Roman* People, he has begun his Work with the *Aborigines*, the firſt Inhabitants of *Italy*. His Authority is vindicated by *Scaliger*, who aſſerts, that we have no Author remaining that has obſerved ſo exact Order in Chronology; and tho' he may be cenſured for relating too credulouſly ſome improbable Stories, yet upon the whole he is eſteemed as an exact and diligent Writer, and more ſincere than *Livy*. He is cenſured as a very prolix Orator, his Hiſtory and Antiquities have an univerſal Applauſe, and the Loſs of what is wanting is exceedingly lamented.

THE Style of this Writer (as *Photius* conſiders it) is new and uncommon, but attended with a Simplicity which renders it delightful; and he adds, that the Elegancy of his Phraſe corrects and ſoftens the Roughneſs that is ſometimes found in his Expreſſion. He commends him exceedingly for uſing many Digreſſions, which retain and recreate the Mind of the Reader, when the Evenneſs of an hiſtorical Narration begins to be weariſome and tedious. The Excellencies of this Writer are more particularly diſtinguiſhed by *Bodinus*; *Dionyſius*, ſays he, beſides the Eſteem he merits by his familiar Style and pure *Attick Greek*, has alſo written the *Roman* Antiquities from the Foundation of the City, with ſo great a Diligence, that he ſeems to excel all other *Greek* and *Latin* Authors; for what the *Latins* neglected as common and well known, their Sacrifices, Plays, Triumphs, Enſigns of Magiſtrates and all the Order of the *Roman* publick Government, their Taxes or Revenues, their *Auſpicia* or Divinations

Divinations, their great Aſſemblies and their difficult Diviſion of the People into Tribes and Claſſes; laſtly, the Authority of the Senate, the Commands of the *Plebes* or lower Orders, the Authority of the Magiſtrates and the Power of the People he only ſeems to have accurately delivered; and for the better Underſtanding of theſe, he compares them with the *Grecian* Laws and Rites, as when he fetches the Laws of Retainers, Vaſſalage or Protection, which *Romulus* inſtituted, and derives them from the Cuſtoms of the *Athenians* and *Theſſalians*. The Laws, he goes on, of *Romulus*, and *Numa*, and *Servius*, had, together with the Origin of the People of *Rome*, periſhed totally, if this Author had not preſerved them. It is a great Glory to him to have exceeded all the *Roman* Writers in Things wherein they ought to have had ſo great Advantage over him.

CERTAINLY, ſays *La Mothe*, it is not to be imagined, that a Man of that Reputation, which *Dionyſius* had acquired in Learning, could produce any thing that was not very polite and worthy of his Name. We have his *Compoſitions of Rhetorick*, and the moſt ſubtle Criticks place him in the firſt Rank of thoſe who delighted in that Sort of Study; and tho' there were no more to be ſaid of him than the Requeſt that was made him by *Pompey* the Great, to give him his Judgment on the firſt *Greek* Hiſtorians, and eſpecially on *Herodotus* and *Xenophon*; it ſhews ſufficiently the Eſteem wherein he lived in his time, and of what Authority he was in *Rome*, when that great General choſe him out of many others to inform him upon this Subject. His Characters of ancient Writers that were before him, are too exact and rigorous, and his Laws of Eloquence too ſevere; for according

to the Strictneſs of his Maxims, there never was a perfect Hiſtorian. Among many Inſtances of his Spleen in Criticiſm, he took upon him to blame the Style of *Plato*. This was one of the Occaſions of a Letter, which *Pompey* writ to him in *Plato*'s Defence; and we ſee by *Dionyſius* his Anſwer, that altho' to pacify *Pompey*, he profeſſes himſelf an Admirer of *Plato*, yet he ſtill perſiſts to give the Preference to *Demoſthenes*.

BUT his Confidence and Credulity in relating Stories wholly improbable, deſerve to be condemned. What can be thought of his making a Razor cut a Whetſtone, by the Command of *Navius Actius* the Augur? His repreſenting *Caſtor* and *Pollux* fighting for the *Romans* againſt the *Latins*? The Rivers *Vulturnus* and *Glanis* running back to their Source, in favour of the Inhabitants of *Cumæ*? He ſays, that a Statue of the Goddeſs *Fortune* pronounced theſe Words twice, *Ritè me Matronæ dedicaſtis*. But there is ſcarce a more ſtrange Relation in the *Roman* Hiſtory, than the Action of *Clælia*, as he repreſents it. He ſays that this *Roman* Virgin, who was given in Hoſtage with many others to *Porſenna*, King of the *Hetruſcians*, returned with all her Companions from the *Tuſcan* Camp to the City of *Rome*, ſwimming over the River *Tiber*, wherein they had leave to bathe; as if it were poſſible that fearful Maidens, who, it may be ſuppoſed had not learned to ſwim, durſt but look upon ſuch a River with deſign to paſs it, and caſt themſelves deſperately into it, when the Peace was almoſt concluded. For tho' *Plutarch* deſcribes the Place in the Life of *Publicola*, ſo very agreeable and convenient to bathe in, yet he confeſſes that the River was very rapid and deep; *Livy* writes with no more likelihood when he tells

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the ſame Story. *Plutarch* does indeed in ſome meaſure queſtion the Truth of it. The Account of *Valerius Maximus* is more agreeable, that this young Lady under the Favour of a dark Night eſcaped from the Enemies Camp, mounted upon a Horſe which bore her among her Friends on the other Side. The Equeſtrian Statue, erected to her honour by the *Romans*, ſupports this Opinion; but when Writers will ſacrifice what is plain and probable to ſomething marvellous and extraordinary, we cannot be ſurprized at ſuch Relations.

ARRIAN.

UNDER that learned Emperor *Adrian* flouriſhed *Arrian* of *Nicomedia*, a City of *Bithynia*, the celebrated Scholar of *Epictetus*, (*Dio* calls him *Flavius Arrianus Nicomedienſis*) a Philoſopher and Hiſtorian; and, if ſome may be credited, an eminent Civilian. *Suidas* acquaints us from *Heliconius*, that he attained even to the Conſular Dignity, and that for the Sweetneſs of his Style, he was termed another *Xenophon*. *Photius* agrees with him, and adds, that he was Prieſt to *Ceres* and *Proſerpine*. *Lucian* in his *Pſeudomantes* aſſures us, that *Arrian* the Scholar of *Epictetus*, a Man of the firſt Rank in *Rome*, employ'd his whole Life in the Study of polite Literature, for which he was ſo particulary famous, ſays *Dio*, that he was complimented with his Freedom both of *Rome* and *Athens*. *Dio* informs us, that he was advanced to be Præfect of *Cappadocia*, and that he reduced the *Alauni* and *Maſſagetæ*. *Pliny* the Younger, who was then Proconſul of *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, ad-

dreſſed ſeven of his Epiſtles to him, and this is the more probable, becauſe *Arrian* was not only a *Bithynian*, but wrote the *Bithynian* and *Alaunian* Hiſtory, an Abridgment of the firſt of which may be ſeen in *Photius*, and a Fragment of the laſt in the ſecond Volume of *Blancard*'s Edition of his Works.

HE likewiſe wrote the *Parthian* Hiſtory in ſeventeen Books, an Extract whereof *Photius* has preſerved. We have four Books of his Diſſertations on *Epictetus*; as alſo a Paraplus, or Luſtration of the Coaſts of the *Euxine* and Red Seas, inſcribed to the Emperor *Adrian*, if that Inſcription be genuine; for *Salmaſius* imagines theſe to have been the Works of another of the ſame Name, who flouriſhed from the time of *Nero* to *Veſpaſian*. He wrote the Life of *Dio* the *Syracuſian*; an Account of *Timoleon*'s Acts in *Sicily*; a Book of Tacticks, and a Treatiſe on Hunting, as a Supplement to *Xenophon*'s Work upon the ſame Subject. His *Indian* Hiſtory we have compleat, notwithſtanding the Aſſertion of the learned *Stuchius* to the contrary.

MR. *BOILEAU*, in his Life of *Epictetus*, gives *Arrian* this extraordinary Character: Of all the Scholars of *Epictetus*, ſays he, *Arrian* is the only one whoſe Name has been tranſmitted with Reputation to Poſterity; but he is ſuch a one as ſufficiently demonſtrates the Excellency of his Maſter, tho' we ſhould ſuppoſe that he alone had been of his forming. For this is the very Perſon who was afterwards advanced to be Præceptor to *Antonine*, ſurnamed the *Pious*, becauſe, like that Philoſopher, he committed to writing the Dictates deliver'd by his Maſter in his Life-time, and publiſhed them

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in one Volume, under the Name of *Epictetus* his Diſcourſes, or Diſſertations, which at preſent we have in four Books. After this he compoſed a little Treatiſe called his *Enchiridion*, which is a ſhort Compendium of all *Epictetus*'s Philoſophical Principles, and hath ever been acknowledged for one of the moſt valuable and beautiful Pieces of ancient Morality. He likewiſe writ a large Book of the Life and Death of *Epictetus*, which is now unfortunately loſt. And to ſhew how much he was of Opinion this Writer had obliged Mankind, he aſſures us, that *Epictetus* left nothing of his own Compoſition behind him, and if *Arrian* had not tranſmitted to Mankind the Maxims of his Maſter, we have ſome Reaſon to doubt whether the very Name of *Epictetus* had not been loſt to the World. It is not eaſy to know, whether his *Hiſtory* was writ before his *Enchiridion*, and thoſe other Diſcourſes of *Epictetus*, which *Simplicius* in his Commentaries aſſures us to be compoſed by him; for tho' it might not be thought, according to the ordinary and natural Courſe of Study, he ſhould apply himſelf to Philoſophical Contemplations in the youthful Part of his Life, yet it appears in the Preface of thoſe Diſcourſes, that he writ them as they were ſpoken by his Maſter, collected from his Mouth whilſt he was yet the Scholar of that great Philoſopher; and he complains that they were publiſhed without his Privity, which is a certain Evidence of their being written in his younger Age. *Photius* ſays, they were formerly in twelve Books, beſides certain Philoſophical Diſſertations by him mentioned, which are loſt to this Age.

As for his Hiſtorical Compoſitions, tho' we have them not all intire, by what remains of them we may diſcern enough to oblige us to value his Merit;

and his ſeven Books of the Conqueſts of *Alexander* the Great, and eight which treat particularly of *India*, may ſuffice to give him a Rank and Name among the chiefeſt Hiſtorians. Beſides theſe, he wrote in ten Books the Hiſtory of thoſe Actions which happened amongſt *Alexander*'s Captains after his Death, for they could not agree about the dividing their Conqueſts; but of thoſe there remains nothing at this Day but an Abridgment of them, which *Photius* gives us in his *Bibliotheca*.

THIS Author gives us to underſtand, that he wrote the Hiſtory of *Alexander* the Great by Divine Inſpiration, and that he did it under the Title of Ἀναβάσεως Ἀλεξάνδρου, and with the ſame Number of Books that *Xenophon* choſe to deſcribe the Conqueſts of *Cyrus*; and ſome obſerve, that he ſo affected to follow that Author, that he has perfectly imitated him in his Style, and in many other reſpects; and therefore he is diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of the *Young Xenophon*. He declares in his Preface, that the Relations of the Facts he has delivered, are founded upon the Faith of *Ariſtobulus* and *Ptolemæus Lagus*, who accompanied *Alexander* in all his Enterprizes, and his Accounts are the more credible, for that, beſides the Royal Quality of the latter, they did neither of them publiſh their Writings till after *Alexander*'s Death, without any other Obligation, than a real Deſire of diſcovering the Truth of his Actions. And yet our Author profeſſes in his Deſcription of the Death of *Calliſthenes* the Philoſopher, that it was diverſly reported by them, though they were both near the Perſon of *Alexander*, when the Proceſs was made againſt that unfortunate Perſon. *Ariſtobulus* ſays, he was led in Chains after the Army, till he died of a Sickneſs; the other affirms, that, after having

Anabaseos Alexandrou — ing
title = The Acent or Expedition of Alexander
in imitation of Xenophons Anabasis —
or Expedition of Cyrus —

ing been expoſed to Torture, he was ſtrangled for being unhappily involved in the Conſpiracy of *Hermolaus*; ſo difficult it is to come at the Truth of Actions performed, and there is nothing more certain, than that one and the ſame Fact is many times variouſly related by thoſe who ſaw it, becauſe of the divers Reſpects and Intereſts in which the Relators are ſeverally engaged.

PHOTIUS commends *Arrian* as equal to the beſt Hiſtorians; his Narration is always agreeable, becauſe it is both ſhort and intelligible, and he never diſcompoſes his Readers with tedious Digreſſions, and ſuch Parentheſes as may obſcure the Senſe of his Sentences. And one cannot eaſily find in all his Hiſtory, any one ſuch miraculous Event, as might render it ſuſpected, if you will except ſome Predictions of *Ariſtander*, and the Story of two *New Springs*, which appeared near the River of *Oxus*, as ſoon as *Alexander* was there encamped.

THE Pattern which *Arrian* propoſed to imitate, permits him not to elevate his Style to a ſublime Degree of Oratory, becauſe the Eloquence of *Xenophon* is not of that Order; but his Phraſe is mingled with ſuch excellent Figures, that by retaining all the Clearneſs of him that he imitates, his Style has nothing in it either too flatly low, or too highly towering. He occaſionally uſes ſometimes oblique Orations, and ſometimes direct ones. The Oration of *Calliſthenes* againſt *Anaxarchus*, who would have *Alexander* to be adored, is one of the moſt conſiderable of thoſe that are direct; and there are two others not inferiour to it of the ſame Prince to his Soldiers, who began to mutiny, once in the *Indies*, and the other Time upon the Banks of the *Tigris*. Thoſe which were made before the Battle

Battle at the Streights of *Amanus*, and at the Plain of *Arbela*, or *Gaugamela*, are oblique, and much more conciſe than the occaſion required. *Photius* makes a very favourable Judgment of the Hiſtory of *Arrian*, and ſays, that whoſoever ſhall compare it with the moſt ancient of thoſe which are ſo much eſteemed, it will be found there are many things in them which by no means come up to the Value of the other. He was a Writer of ſo great Integrity, that by way of Eminence and Diſtinction, he was called *The Lover of Truth.*

APPIANUS.

THIS Hiſtorian is the more conſiderable among thoſe who have laboured in the *Roman* Hiſtory, in that, beſides the Commendation which *Photius* gives him, to have truly as poſſible delivered his Matter, he alone has particularly deſcribed the Actions, according to the Provinces where the Scene of them lay, and the different Regions wherein they were tranſacted. This Method is certainly very uſeful and regular, to expreſs diſtinctly the ſeveral Exploits, and ſeparately from each other, and at one View preſents what paſſes in every Country, no way of Writing can be more inſtructive than this, and apter in that reſpect to pleaſe and ſatisfy the Mind of the Reader; ſo that the Hiſtory of *Appian*, as *Suidas* relates, was often by an excellency of Title called the *Baſilic* or *Royal* Hiſtory.

HE deſcended from one of the chief Families of *Alexandria*, and came to *Rome* in the Time of the Emperor *Trajan*; he there practiſed the Law for ſometime,

ſometime, and pleaded with that Force and Eloquence, that he was ſoon advanced to be one of the *Procuratores Cæſaris*, and afterwards carried to greater Dignities in the Empire under *Adrian* and *Antoninus Pius*. He was preferred, as *Photius* relates, to the Adminiſtration of a Province; *Sigonius* and ſome others call him *Sophiſta Alexandrinus*, and make him an *Egyptian*.

THE Hiſtory of *Appian* was divided into three Volumes, which, as the ſame *Photius* obſerves, contained four and twenty Books. It began at the Taking and Deſtruction of *Troy*, and the Fortune of *Æneas*, and extended beyond the Reign of *Auguſtus*, making Excurſions ſometimes even to the Times of *Trajan*. As to his Style, the ſame *Photius* obſerves, that as his Manner of Writing was plain and eaſy, ſo he had nothing in it that was ſoaring, high or ſuperfluous, and he gives him the Privilege of being not only very faithful, but one of thoſe who has given the greateſt Teſtimony of his Knowledge in the Art of War, and all kind of military Diſcipline. To read the Deſcription of his Battles, would make one fancy himſelf in the middle of them; and he is ſo happy in his Orations, that he manages and moves the Affections which way he pleaſes, whether it be to revive the Courage of the drooping Soldiers, or repreſs the extravagant Tranſports of thoſe that are too violent. Of the many Works which he compoſed, there remains to this Time but the leaſt Part, which deſcribe the *Punick*, *Syrian*, and *Parthian* Wars; thoſe againſt *Mithridates*, againſt the *Spaniards*, againſt *Hannibal*, and five Books of thoſe of the Civil Wars of *Rome*, and thoſe of *Illyria*. As for that of the *Celtick* War, or the War of the *Gauls*, there is only a Fragment or Compendium of it extant, rather to make

make us regret what we want, than ſatisfy our Minds with that which remains. The Account he gives of the Civil Wars is exceedingly praiſed by *Photius*; it is written, he ſays, with great Accurateneſs, Elegance and Clearneſs; it begins with the Sedition of the *Gracchi* about the *Agrarian* Law, and continues it down through all the Tumults and Confuſions of the *Romans*, to the Death of *Pompey* the younger, which was but five Years before the Battle of *Actium*, and the Settlement of *Auguſtus* in the Empire; a Story that is not written at large and intirely by any other but this Author and *Dion Caſſius*, and is one of the beſt Supplements that is extant of the laſt Books in the End of *Livy*, and one of the beſt Introductions to the Hiſtory of the *Cæſars*; and laſtly, it is one of the moſt lively Repreſentations that is to be found in any Hiſtory of the Diſorders of Commonwealths, and the Miſeries that attend great Changes in Governments.

BUT notwithſtanding this favourable Character of *Photius* in behalf of *Appian*, *Bodin* falls foul both upon his Memory, and his Judgment in the Matter of Hiſtory; for this bold Cenſurer denies that it was the *Roman* Practice to lend their Wives to one another, after the Cuſtom of the *Parthians* and *Lacedæmonians*, and imputes too much Credulity to our Hiſtorian upon this account; tho' *Plutarch* relates the ſame Thing, and ſays, that *Cato* freely lent his Wife to *Hortenſius* the Orator; nor is the Law of *Romulus*, or that againſt Adulterers mentioned by *Agellius*, (as *Bodin* unadviſedly imagines) repugnant to this Practice. He blames him likewiſe for making *Cæſar* ſay, in his ſecond Book of the Civil Wars, certain Expreſſions that were not ſpoken by him, but by *Pompey*, in a threatning

threatning Speech which he uſed to the Senate, when he put his Hand upon his Sword, and told them, that if they would not grant him what he deſired, that Sword ſhould purchaſe it. This ought in Candour to be aſcribed to a Failure of Memory, to which all Mankind is ſubject. He condemns him likewiſe for another Error in miſtaking *Calphurnia* for *Pompeia*, that Wife of *Cæſar*, who was vitiated at the Ceremonies of the *good Goddeſs*. *Sigonius* is more indecent, he arraigns him of Levity, and many Omiſſions, without producing any Inſtance to ſupport the Charge. *Scaliger* is very bold in his Cenſure upon him, in his Animadverſions on the Hiſtory of *Euſebius*, where he ſays he would appear to be a Child in the Buſineſs of his Hiſtory, were it not that an Infinity of Matters were added to his Hiſtory of the Wars of *Syria*. Theſe Reflections are raiſed too high, yet his Partiality is a Fault that runs through all his Works; he flatters the *Romans*, always placing the Right as well as the Advantage on their ſide, to the Prejudice of all other Nations with whom they were concerned. We may add to this, that he often attributes to himſelf the Labours of others, tranſcribing many Paragraphs and intire Sentences of *Polybius*, and other Authors more ancient, inſerting them in his Works without citing their Texts, or making any Acknowledgment due to their Merit upon ſuch Occaſions. He is likewiſe charged for tranſcribing the greateſt Part of the Commentaries of *Auguſtus*, which contained (as *Suetonius* relates) the moſt memorable Actions of his Life. This is indeed a Sort of Theft not to be allowed; *Deprehendi in furto malle, quam mutuum reddere*; as *Pliny* ſays to *Veſpaſian*, on the ſame Subject; and *Scaliger* on this Occaſion calls him

alienorum

alienorum laborum Fucum, alluding to a certain Sort of lazy Flies, which nouriſh themſelves by the Labour and the Honey of others.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Severity of *Scaliger* upon the Character of *Appian*, he has had his Admirers, who have repreſented him in a more favourable Light; *Cælius Secundus Curio*, in his Epiſtle Dedicatory before the *Latin* Impreſſion, writes thus of him: It is certain, ſays he, that *Appian* propoſed to himſelf the Method and Contexture of *Thucydides* and *Saluſt*, and endeavoured to imitate them both in their Veracity of Expreſſion, and Quickneſs of Tranſition; for he did not weave together a perpetual Series of Hiſtory, as *Livy* and others; but from the whole Matter, that is, from the greateſt, and the moſt immortal Actions of the *Romans*, he ſeparated the Wars they made upon any Nation or People, and made ſo many Bodies of Hiſtory as the Wars were they undertook; which Reaſon and Image of Writing, *Cæſar* purſued in his ſo much celebrated Commentaries, wherein nothing is found empty, fabulous or incredible; no ſuperfluous or feigned Speeches, or Orations for Oſtentation, but all pure, true, religious and neceſſary, in which he did not imitate the Vanity of the *Greeks*, which to do is not indeed to write an Hiſtory, but to deceive the World with Fables. *Rapin* confeſſes that he was a Copier of all the *Greeks* that treated on the ſame Subject, which occaſions his Style to be as various as the Books from which he ſtole; yet after all, his Works are not to be deſpiſed, for they contain Matters of Worth and Learning.

DIO

DIO CASSIUS.

DIO CASSIUS, who is beſides known by the Surnames of *Cocceius* and *Cocceianus*, was born at *Nicea*, a City of *Bithynia*, whither he retired in his latter Years to paſs in quiet the remaining part of his Life, after the Example of thoſe Animals, who always return, as they ſay, to die in their Manſions. The Infirmity of his Legs called him to this Receſs, and he writes that his Genius had foretold it him long before, by a Verſe of *Homer*'s Iliads, recited by *Photius*. As *Socrates* was ſaid to have had a familiar Spirit, or Dæmon, who was as a Director of his Life, *Dio* alledges he was warned by his to avoid, by withdrawing himſelf, the Ambuſhes which the *Prætorian* Militia prepared for him; and the ſame Spirit of Godeſs (to uſe his own Words) made him write his Hiſtory, who before exerciſed himſelf only in Philoſophical Learning, as that of divine Dreams and their Interpretation, and he compoſed a Treatiſe upon that Subject.

HIS Father *Apronianus*, a Conſular Man, (according to the Phraſe of that Age) was Governor of *Dalmatia*, and ſome time after Proconſul of *Cilicia*. He himſelf had the ſame Conſular Dignity beſtowed upon him twice, which he exerciſed jointly with the Emperor *Alexander*, Son of *Mammea*, after he had paſſed through divers Employments under the precedent Emperors; for *Macrinus* had eſtabliſhed him Lieutenant or Governor of *Pergamus* and *Smyrna*, and he ſome time commanded in *Africk*, and had afterwards the Adminiſtra-

tion of *Auſtria* and *Hungary*, then called *Pannonia*, committed to him. Theſe Circumſtances are proper to be known before we ſpeak of his Writings, becauſe they recommend and derive upon them a greater Authority.

HIS Hiſtory compriſed all the Time from the Building of *Rome* to the Reign of *Alexander Severus*, which he writ in eighty Books, divided into eight Decads, of which few are ſaved from that unhappy Loſs that has been fatal to many admirable Works of this Nature, by the Ignorance and Incurſions of barbarous Nations. At preſent the five and thirtieth Book is the firſt of thoſe that remain intire; for we have but ſome Fragments of the four and thirtieth preceding. His Progreſs to the ſixtieth is compleat enough; but inſtead of the laſt twenty, we muſt be content with what *Xiphilinus*, a Monk of *Conſtantinople*, has given us in a Compendium of them. *Photius* obſerves that he writ his *Roman* Hiſtory, as ſome others had likewiſe done, not from the Foundation of *Rome* only, but even from *Æneas* his Deſcent into *Italy*, which he continued to the Tyranny of *Heliogabalus*, and ſome Part of the Reign of *Alexander Severus* his Succeſſor. That which we have of it now in our Poſſeſſion, comprehending the Events of three hundred Years at leaſt, begins but at the Time when *Lucullus* had his great Commands, and finiſhes with the Death of *Claudius* the Emperor, the reſt is the Epitome of *Xiphilinus* before mentioned.

THOUGH all that has been loſt of this excellent Author is much to be regretted, I think nothing is ſo deplorable as the Loſs of the forty laſt Years, of which he writ as an Eye-witneſs, and one that had a Part in the Government of the State. For he could give no Account of what paſſed before

fore the Empire of *Commodus*, but from the Relation of Strangers. But after that Emperor to the other, with whom he had the Honour to be Collegue in the Conſulſhip, he built his Relations no more upon the Faith of others, but delivered his own Obſervations, which are now come to us only by the Hand of *Xiphilinus*, his Abbreviator. It is a clear Evidence of the prudent Conduct of *Dio*, that he could paſs ſteadily through ſuch dangerous Times as thoſe under the Cruelty and Tyrannies of *Commodus*, *Caracalla*, *Macrinus*, and *Heliogabalus* (or, as it ought to be writ, *Elagabolus*) without the Loſs of his Life, his Fortune, or Reputation, which run great Hazards under ſuch arbitrary and bloody Princes, and are in the utmoſt Danger, without the greateſt Dexterity of Wit and Conduct. He was ſo commendable, and behaved with that Equanimity, that after having overcome thoſe ſtormy and tempeſtuous Seaſons, wherein the Quality of a Stranger and his Riches expoſed him to much Envy, he arrived happily at a ſafe Port, and became ſafe under the Reign of *Alexander Severus*, an exceeding Lover of Juſtice, and a moſt powerful Protector of virtuous Men.

UNDER him he publiſhed the *Roman* Hiſtory, to which he was directed by his Genius, as we obſerved before, and at the ſame Time obeyed the Command of *Septimius Severus*, by whoſe Orders he applied himſelf to that Undertaking. He confeſſes himſelf that he employed ten Years in providing the neceſſary Materials for this great Building, and twelve more in raiſing it; and adding that Majeſty unto it, which makes us even at this Day admire its diſmembred Fragments, and broken Ruins. A Man of his Quality, who had paſſed his whole Life in the Management of publick

Affairs, who had thoroughly read Men as well as Books, and of ſuch an experienced Conduct, could not avoid proving a moſt correct Hiſtorian. Nor has any of the *Roman* Writers diſcovered ſo much as he of thoſe State Secrets, which *Tacitus* ſtyles, *Arcana Imperii*, and of which he makes ſo high a Myſtery. He is ſo exact in deſcribing the Order of the *Comitia*, the eſtabliſhing of Magiſtrates, and the Uſe of the publick Rites of the *Romans*, that there is no Account of them ſo particular in any other Author. And in what relates to the Conſecration of the Emperors, their *Apotheoſis*, or inrolling among the Number of the Gods, we may ſay he is the only Writer who has ſhewn us an exact Form, except *Herodian*, who affected afterwards to imitate him upon the ſame Subject. But particularly in the fifty ſixth Book, he is very curious where he repreſents the Pomp of *Auguſtus* his Funeral, his Bed of State, his Effigies of Wax, and the funeral Oration which *Tiberius* read before the People; then deſcribes the Rites that related to the Burning of his Body; how *Livia* gathered and laid up his Bones, and in the End with what Dexterity they made an Eagle fly from the funeral Pile, whence that Bird of *Jupiter* ſeemed to bear the Soul of the Emperor to Heaven.

THE Funeral Oration before mentioned introduces a Remark that *Dio* uſed, not only the oblique, but the direct way of Oration alſo in the Body of his Hiſtory. Thoſe of *Pompey* to the *Romans*, and of *Gabinius* afterwards in his thirty ſixth Book, are of the laſt Sort. The Philoſophical Diſcourſe of *Philiſius* to *Cicero*, found in the eight and thirtieth, which perſuades him to bear his Exile in *Macedonia* with Conſtancy, is alſo in the Form of a *Proſopopœia*, after a very conſiderable Dialogue between

between them two. The Orations of *Agrippa* and *Mecænas*, the firſt of whom exhorted *Auguſtus* to quit the Empire, the ſecond on the contrary to retain it, are of the ſame Sort, and contain the whole fifty ſecond Book. By this it appears, that they who believe all Sorts of Orations to be indecent in Hiſtory, will not be pleaſed with *Dio*'s Method of writing, for he abſtains not from thoſe which are moſt to be avoided, namely, the *Direct*, and has made uſe of Dialogues alſo, which is contrary to the Rules of the Criticks in Hiſtory.

But if we muſt take notice of his Faults, there are others which deſerve ſooner to be complained of than what we mentioned; he is accuſed of having taken *Cæſar*'s Part too much againſt *Pompey*, and to accommodate himſelf to the Courſe of Fortune. Nor ſeems he more equitable in reſpect of *Antonius*'s Faction, which he always favours to the prejudice of that of *Cicero*. And whoever reads in the forty ſixth Book the Invective of *Q. Fuſius Calenus* againſt this incomparable Orator, will be hardly able to endure all the Injuries with which it ſeems *Dio* would have ſullied his Reputation. Not content to make him reproached for being the Son of a Fuller or Dyer, and very often reduced to dreſs Vines or cultivate Olive-Trees, he aſſaults his Perſon, and touches his Honour in the moſt ſenſible Parts; he repreſents him ridiculous for his Fearfulneſs, and to blaſt him the more affirms, that of all the Orations which were ſeen of his, he delivered not one of them after the Manner in which they were writ, and therefore his want of Memory is imputed as a Crime to him. But he makes *Calenus* much more ſevere, he would have him throw off the long Robe, if it had not been uſeful to him to hide his bandy Legs, and ill-ſhap'd Feet; and

 arraigns

arraigns his conjugal Bed, to expoſe the Vices of his Wives, charges him with proſtituting the Honour of one of them; and in the mention of his Children, he accuſes him of Inceſt with his Daughter, and repreſents his Son as an infamous Libertine, perpetually drunk. Certainly to treat one of the greateſt Perſons in the *Roman* Republick in this ſcandalous Manner is rather like a Satyriſt than an Hiſtorian. But *Dio* purſues his Blow, and ſo violently preſſes upon the Character of this wonderful Orator, that in the following Book he takes a new Occaſion to make *Fulvia* the Wife of *Antonius* vomit out abundance of Reproaches againſt his Memory, and pierce his Tongue through with her Bodkin.

DIO has not behaved with more Reſpect to the Reputation of *Seneca*, unleſs thoſe Reflections are juſtly charged upon *Xiphiline*, who, as ſome ſuppoſe, maliciouſly delivers the Thoughts of *Suillius*, or ſome other as bad, for thoſe of *Dio*; tho' other Writers have accuſed *Seneca* of leading a Life quite contrary to the moral Diſcipline he profeſſed, and the philoſophical Character to which he pretended. In this Hiſtory he is branded with the Guilt of Adultery with *Julia* and *Agrippina*, and charged with the Death of the laſt. He is taxed with reading Lectures of Pederaſty to *Nero*, and aſcending the Theatre with him, to make Orations in his Applauſe. In ſhort, his Luxury and Avarice are aggravated to that degree, that the Cauſe of the Rebellion in *Britain* is imputed to him; where the People could no more endure his Extortion, than *Nero* could ſuffer his Conſpiracies, from which he had no other means to deliver himſelf than by putting ſo cruel a Maſter to a violent Death. But theſe Invectives ſeem to proceed rather from the

Seneca —

Malice

Malice of the Abbreviator than the Hiſtorian; becauſe *Dio* in his fifty-ninth Book declares himſelf in Favour of *Seneca*, and very much to his Reputation.

THIS Writer has been ſeverely cenſured for Superſtition and Credulity, and by that means ſome Diſcredit has fallen upon his Hiſtory. But ſurely ſome Allowance ought to be made to the Weakneſs of Humanity, for the beſt Authors have been blamed for the ſame Blemiſhes and Imperfections. In his forty-ſeventh Book he tells us, the Sun appeared at *Rome* ſometimes leſſer and ſometimes greater than ordinary, to foretel the bloody Battle fought in the Fields of *Philippi*; which was alſo ſignified by many other Prodigies. He gave credit to the ſtrange Qualities of the *Pſylli*, who pretend to a Power of expelling Poiſon out of the dead Body of *Cleopatra*; whom theſe Men (for there was no Female among them, ſince they begat themſelves) endeavoured in vain to bring to Life again. Theſe *Pſylli* are mentioned to have been employed by *Auguſtus Cæſar*, to cure *Cleopatra* after ſhe had been bitten by the Aſp, by ſucking out the Venom of her Wounds, that ſhe might adorn his Triumph at *Rome*. In his fifty-eighth Book he relates, that a Phœnix was ſeen in *Egypt* in the ſeven hundred and nineteenth Year after the Foundation of *Rome*. In another Place he writes, that *Veſpaſian* cured a blind Man, by ſpitting in his Eyes; and worked a like Miracle upon a lame Man's Hand, which he reſtored to its Vigour and former Uſe, by walking upon it; theſe Men being forewarned in a Dream that they ſhould receive this Benefit from the Emperor. In another Place he ſays, that *Apollonius Tyanæus* ſaw in the City of *Epheſus*, all that paſſed at the Death of *Domitian* in

Death of Cleopatra = The Phœnix

The Pſylli Serpent Charmers

in *Rome*, at the ſame Inſtant when the Tyrant was under the Murderer's Hand; ſo that he cried out, calling upon the Name of *Stephanus*, which was the Name of the Villain, bidding him *ſtrike boldly*; and immediately, ſays he, the Act was done. As if *Dio* would have conformed himſelf to *Philoſtratus*, who writ at the ſame Time the Life of this Impoſtor, and there was no Difference to be allowed between true and fabulous Hiſtory.

HE does not eſcape Cenſure from ſome, particularly from *Baronius*, who finds fault with him for not expreſſing himſelf with more Favour towards Chriſtianity. This Charge ſcarce deſerves a Reply, ſince he is to be eſteemed as a *Pagan* Author, who was not like to recommend a Religion contrary to what he profeſſed. It is certain, that when he ſpeaks of the Victories of *Marcus Aurelius*, he attributes to the Magick Art of one *Arnuphis* an *Egyptian*, rather than to the Prayers of the *Chriſtians*, the miraculous Rain which fell in favour of the *Romans*, and the ſtrange Tempeſts which afflicted the Army of the *Quadi*, whom the learned *Cluverius* takes for the preſent *Moravians*. But is it a wonder in things ſubject to various Interpretations, as are ordinarily ſuch Prodigies, that *Dio* an idolatrous Hiſtorian ſhould not give the ſame Judgment as a Believer; and that he ſpake otherwiſe of them than *Tertullian*, *Euſebius*, and ſome others have done?

HIS Style is by *Photius* placed in the Rank of the moſt elevated, being exceedingly raiſed by the Loftineſs of his Thoughts. His Diſcourſe, ſays he, is full of Phraſes, which reſemble the ancient Conſtruction or Syntax, and his Expreſſion anſwers the Greatneſs of the Matter he treats of. His Periods are often interrupted with Parentheſes, and he uſes

many

many Tranſitions, which are very troubleſome when they are not uſed artificially after his manner. But one thing is very remarkable, that though his Language is very numerous, and adjuſted according to Art; yet it appears to be ſo little laboured, that the Reader does not perceive the Care that has been taken in it; becauſe it is ſo clear and intelligible, that every one preſuppoſes as much Facility in the Compoſition, as there is in the Reading. He ſeems to have imitated *Thucydides*, whom he follows, eſpecially in his Narratives and Orations; but he has the Advantage over him, not to be reproached with Obſcurity. *Thucydides* is his great Example in every thing elſe, which he copies after with the greateſt Circumſpection. This is the Judgment *Photius* gives of him, who is to be allowed more Credit on this occaſion than *Sigonius*, who cenſures *Dio* for being too *Aſiatick*, and ſo prolix in his Orations that he is troubleſome to his Readers. The World muſt be left to the Liberty of Thinking, according to the Law of the *Romans*, *Populo libera ſunto Suffragia:* Yet I conceive for what relates to Language, the ſureſt way is to leave that to thoſe to whom it is natural, and who have ſucked it with their Milk, rather than to Strangers who are much more ſubject to be miſtaken.

BESIDES the Hiſtory of *Dio*, it ſeems that *Suidas* aſcribes to him ſome other Compoſitions, as the Life of the Philoſopher *Arrianus*, the Actions of *Trajan*, and certain Itineraries. *Raphael Volaterranus* makes him beſides Author of three Books intitled *De Principe*, and ſome ſmall Treatiſes of Morality.

HERODIAN.

HERODIAN,

A GRAMMARIAN of *Alexandria* in the third Century, the Son of *Apollonius*, ſurnamed *Dyſcolus*. He paſſed moſt part of his time at *Rome*, in the Courts of the Emperors, where he wrote his Hiſtory, conſiſting of eight Books: From the Death of *Antoninus Philoſophus* to *Balbinus*, and *Maximus Pupienus* murdered by the Army, in favour of young *Gordian*, whom they made his Succeſſor.

THE Hiſtory of *Herodian* receives its Commendation from the Merit of its Author. He declares at the Beginning of his firſt Book, that he will only write of the Affairs of his own time, which he himſelf had ſeen or received from Perſons of the beſt Credit; for which he was excellently qualified by reaſon of the publick Employments that he exerciſed: for he might juſtly boaſt that he paſſed through the principal Offices of the State.

ABOUT the End of the ſecond Book he acquaints us, (before he begins to write the Life of *Septimius Severus*, which contains all the third Book) that his Hiſtory in general ſhall comprehend the Space of ſeventy Years, and treat of the Government of all the Emperors who ſucceeded one another, during that time; that is, from the Reign of *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* the Philoſopher, to that of the younger *Gordianus*, Grandchild of the former, who is ſuppoſed by ſome to be the third of that Name.

His eighth Book, which is the laſt of his Work, ends with the unworthy Slaughter of the two old Men *Balbinus* and *Pupienus*, whom he calls *Maximus*,

imus, committed by the *Prætorian* Soldiers, to advance the forementioned *Gordianus* junior to the Throne.

THIS Writer is praiſed for his exact Judgment, his Obſervations are diſcreet and elegant, and whoever reads him with Attention will find a great and delightful Variety, both of Things and Men, and frequent Examples of the Frowns and Smiles of Fortune, as ſhe is ever changing; he will obſerve ſtrange and wonderful Councils, and unexpected Events; he will find, as occaſion ſerves, grave and weighty Sentences, and a Style full of Dignity and Sweetneſs. He will diſcover, ſays *Politian*, Plenty of neceſſary Materials for the Improvement of his Life and Manners, and as it were the Looking-Glaſs of Humanity, which he may inſpect all his Life-time; and from whence he may draw Inſtructions for the better Management of publick or private Affairs. This Author may be read either in the original *Greek* or *Latin*: for it is hard to ſay, whether *Herodian* receives more Honour, who in his own Language flows with a plentiful Vein, or *Politian*, who has tranſlated him ſo happily that he does not ſeem ſo much to have rendered as to have writ that Hiſtory. This Author, in the Judgment of *Photius*, has writ with an air ſo much the more clear and agreeable, in that he has not too much affected the *Attick* Terms, but ſo tempered his Phraſe, that his Diſcourſe is heightened above the lower Form of Oration; and, as there is nothing ſuperfluous, ſo it cannot be ſaid that he has omitted any thing uſeful or neceſſary to be known; and he adds, (to compleat his Character) that conſidering all the Virtues of an Hiſtorian, there are few Authors to whom *Herodian* ought to ſubſcribe.

IT

IT is obſerved by *La Mothe*, that this Writer has given a very noble and ſolemn Deſcription of the *Pagan* Ceremonies uſed at the Conſecration or Apotheoſis of the *Roman* Emperors. It is in the Beginning of the fourth Book, where he ſo well repreſents to us all the Funeral Honours render'd to the Aſhes of *Severus*, (which his Children had tranſported from *England* in an Alabaſter Cheſt) that it is difficult to find any where a Relation more exact and inſtructive. He tells us how they were put into an Urn with the general Adoration of the Senate and the People, and carried by the Conſuls to the Temple, where the ſacred Monuments of their Emperors were preſerved; and then proceeding to deſcribe the Funeral Pomp, he informs us, that his Effigies in Wax, all clothed in Robes of Gold, was placed at the Gate of his Palace on an Ivory Bed, elevated from the Ground and magnificently adorned; where, ſeven Days together, the Senators in Black, and the *Roman* Ladies all in White (without any other Ornaments) came to pay their Reſpects; taking their Places, the Women on the Right, and the Men on the Left Side of the Bed, all appearing with very mournful Countenances. He obſerves alſo, that the Phyſicians came duly to viſit this Repreſentation of the Emperor, making formal Approaches to the Bed, as if he were alive, and declaring that his Sickneſs grew daily worſe and worſe: So true it is that this World is a continual Comedy. After this Time was paſſed over, the moſt conſiderable of the Youth and the Knights carried the ſame Bed on their Shoulders, firſt to the great *Forums*, where the Magiſtrates of *Rome* uſed to ſurrender their Charges; and there a *Chorus* of young Men on the one Side, and Virgins on the other, ſung Hymns to the Praiſe of the dead

dead Emperor. From thence they proceeded to the *Campus Martius*, which was without the City; where the Bed and Effigies were placed in a large ſquare Tabernacle of Wood, elevated to the Height of one of thoſe Towers, on which Lights are placed upon the Sea-Coaſts, to direct Mariners to avoid the Dangers of rocky Shores. In the next Place he writes, that the *Roman* Knights made their Horſes run round about the Tabernacle in certain orderly Motions, which were at that Time called *Motus Pyrrhichii*; and in orbicular Revolutions. And at the ſame Time there were a certain Number of Chariots filled with Perſons that repreſented the moſt qualified Men of the Empire, who alſo went in a kind of Proceſſion round the great Machine, till the next Succeſſor of the Emperor took a Torch in his hand, and with it kindled ſome combuſtible Matter made for that purpoſe at the bottom of it, and then in a little time all the ſuperb Edifice was conſumed in Flames; and at the ſame Time they let an Eagle fly, which the *Pagan* Superſtition of that Age believed was to carry the Soul of the Deceaſed into Heaven.

JULIUS Capitolinus allows *Herodian* to be a good Hiſtorian, but accuſes him nevertheleſs of bearing too hard upon the Memory of *Alexander Severus*, and his Mother *Mammea*. This Charge is not ſo well ſupported, for he ſpeaks very reſpectfully of the Clemency and mild Diſpoſition of that Prince, who reigned fourteen Years without any Effuſion of Blood, and without taking the Life of any one, otherwiſe than by the ordinary Courſe of Juſtice; which he remarks, as a Virtue very rare, and without Example, ſince the Reign of *Antoninus* the Philoſopher.

As to the Empreſs *Mammea*, (who is propoſed by ſome as a Pattern to thoſe to whom is committed the Education of Princes) he by no means approved of her Government: Sometimes he deſcribes her as a Princeſs devoured by Avarice, who invaded the Poſſeſſions of others by evil and fraudulent means; and ſays, ſhe was for that Reaſon hated by her Son. And then he repreſents her to be ſo proud, that ſhe could not endure her Daughter-in-Law *Auguſta*, impatient to have the Title of Empreſs given to any but herſelf, but baniſhed her into *Africa*; after having cauſed her Father to be put to Death, againſt the Conſent of the Emperor, becauſe he made publick Complaints of the Wrongs he and the young Empreſs had ſuffered by the Cruelty of the ſame *Mammea*. Nor was ſhe leſs injurious to her Son, who when he regretted the Defeat of the *Roman* Army, which was too far advanced into the Country of the *Parthians*, could not but impute the Diſhonour of it to her; who, on pretence of her Care, which perſuaded him not to hazard his Perſon, was the occaſion of the Loſs of that Army, and of all the Reproach and Infamy that attended it. Nor does *Herodian* aſſign any other Cauſe of the Death both of the Mother and the Son, who were aſſaſſinated by the Soldiers, than the Hatred they had conceived againſt *Mammea*; becauſe of her inſatiable Avarice, and ſhameleſs Parcimony, by which means *Maximinus* was raiſed to the Empire.

BUT though *Herodian* juſtly blamed *Mammea* for her ill Conduct in the Matter of Government, he very much commends her Care in the Education of her Son, excluding from him all profane Perſons, and eſpecially thoſe Peſts of Courts, who flatter the bad Inclination of Princes, and ſo pervert their

their Nature, and immediately vitiate their Underſtandings. She would ſuffer none to have Acceſs to him that were not virtuous in their Lives, and of approved Behaviour; and ſo diſcreetly regulated his Time, that it was chiefly employed in Affairs worthy of him. Nor was the Vigilance and great Pains ſhe took to preſerve her Son from ſo vile a Monſter as *Heliogabalus* (who uſed all Methods to deprive him of his Life) leſs worthy of Praiſe, as our Hiſtorian obſerves. *Lampridius* likewiſe commends the Piety of this Princeſs, and ſays, that never any Prince was better educated than *Alexander Severus* in all the Exerciſes of Peace and War, by the excellent Maſters ſhe provided for him. And he finiſhes his Diſcourſe of the Life of that Emperor, in obſerving that he was of a ſweet Diſpoſition, being the Son of a moſt virtuous Mother. Thus the Integrity of this Hiſtorian ſeems clear and unblameable, nor is it Juſtice to condemn him, as guilty of Prejudice or Partiality in his Writings.

THOUGH we conſider *Herodian* in this Place as an Hiſtorian, yet we are told by *Suidas* that he writ many other Books, which are not preſerved to our time. *Ammianus Marcellinus* calls him *Artium minutiſſimum Sciſcitatorem*. He paſſed the beſt part of his Life at *Rome* in the Courts of the Emperors, where he had Opportunities to inform himſelf (with that Curioſity which appears in his Writings) of many Particulars, which are to be found no where elſe.

ASSISTED by theſe Advantages, he traces the Actions of Men to their true Springs, ſhews how their Meaſures were laid, and how purſued, makes grave and pertinent Reflections in due time and place, and offers Inſtructions and Advice, which, exactly followed, would conduce exceedingly to

the Ornament and Improvement of human Life. His Language is clear and maſculine, and flows from him with ſo much Eaſe, that he ſeems to have taken no pains to adorn it; yet, as careleſs of Ornament as he appears, he ſtill preſerves a Majeſty ſuitable to the Greatneſs of the Subject which he treats, and has ſomething in him ſo pleaſing, and ſo comely, as perhaps all the Art and Labour of other Men can never reach; which, by all the World is allowed a Beauty and Perfection of Style, not to be attained unto but by the compleateſt Genius, and the greateſt Maſters of the Tongue they write in. His *Lives* ſeem to be written with the air of a Gentleman, who is always natural and unaffected, as well in his Expreſſion as Behaviour, and may be diſtinguiſhed as well by the Faſhion of his Style as the Mien and Carriage of his Body. It may be truly ſaid, that as far as he has gone, he has given us a juſt Picture of the *Roman* Emperors; laying open to our View, as well their Beauties as their Blemiſhes, and diſplaying both without Flattery or Prejudice in their true and natural Colours. It may be juſtly ſaid of him, as it was of *Suetonius*, that he writ their *Lives* with the ſame Freedom that they led them. *Caſaubon* has done juſtice to *Herodian* in this Particular, and eſtabliſhed the Fame of his Sincerity, as well as his other hiſtorical Virtues; whoſe Authority in the Republick of Letters is ſo conſiderable, that it would be needleſs to add any thing more upon this Subject.

PLUTARCH.

PLUTARCH.

THIS Writer flouriſhed in the Time of *Trajan*, and was born at *Chæronea*, a ſmall City of *Bœotia* in *Greece*, between *Attica* and *Phocis*, in the latter End of the Reign of *Claudius*. *Xylander* has obſerved, that *Plutarch* himſelf in the Life of *Pericles* and that of *Antony* has mentioned both *Nero* and *Domitian* as his Contemporaries. His Family was antient in *Chæronea*, and had for many Deſcents borne the moſt conſiderable Offices in that petty Commonwealth; the chiefeſt of which was known by the Name of *Archon* among the *Grecians*. His great Grandfather was *Nicarchus*, who among other Sons had *Lamprias*, a Man eminent for his Learning and Philoſophy. He makes mention of his Father in his *Sympoſiaques*, or *Table Converſations*, and repreſents him as arguing ſeveral Points of Philoſophy; but his Name is no where to be found in any Part of the Works remaining to us. But yet he ſpeaks of him as a Man not ignorant in Learning and Poetry.

THE Father of *Plutarch* had many Children beſides him; *Timon* and *Lamprias* his Brothers were bred up with him, all three inſtructed in the Liberal Sciences, and in all Parts of Philoſophy. 'Tis manifeſt from our Author that they lived together in great Friendlineſs, and in high Veneration to their Grandfather and Father. What Affection *Plutarch* bore in particular to his Brother *Timon* may be gathered from theſe Words of his: As for my ſelf, tho' Fortune on ſeveral Occaſions has been favourable to me, I have no Obligation ſo great

to her, as the Kindneſs and intire Friendſhip which my Brother *Timon* has always born, and ſtill bears me; and this is ſo evident, that it cannot but be noted by every one of our Acquaintance. *Lamprias*, the youngeſt of the three, is introduced by him in his *Morals* as one of a ſweet and pleaſant Converſation, inclined to Mirth and Raillery, or as we ſay in *Engliſh*, as well humoured-Man, and a good Companion.

THE whole Family being thus addicted to Philoſophy, it was no wonder if he was initiated betimes to Study, to which he was naturally inclined. In purſuit of which he was ſo happy as to fall into good Hands at firſt, being recommended to the Care of *Ammonius*, an *Egyptian*, who having taught Philoſophy with great Reputation at *Alexandria*, and from thence travelling into *Greece*, ſettled himſelf at laſt in *Athens*, where he was well received, and generally reſpected. At the End of *Themiſtocles* his Life, *Plutarch* relates, that being young, he was a Penſioner in the Houſe of this *Ammonius*, and in his *Sympoſiaques* he brings him in diſputing with his Scholars, and giving them Inſtruction. Having the Aſſiſtance of ſuch a Maſter, he advanced to Admiration in Knowledge, and that without firſt travelling into foreign Parts, or acquiring any foreign Tongue, tho' the *Roman* Language at that Time was not only vulgar in *Rome* itſelf, but generally through the Extent of that vaſt Empire, and in *Greece*, which was a Member of it; for like a true Philoſopher, who regarded Things, not Words, he ſtrove not even to cultivate his Mother Tongue with any great Exactneſs. And himſelf confeſſes in the beginning of *Demoſthenes* his Life, that during his abode in *Italy* and at *Rome*, he had neither the Leiſure to ſtudy, nor ſo much as to exerciſe

erciſe the *Roman* Language, (I ſuppoſe he means to write in it, rather than to ſpeak it;) as well by reaſon of the Affairs he managed, as that he might acquit himſelf to thoſe who were deſirous to be inſtructed by him in Philoſophy, inſomuch that he became not converſant in *Latin* Books 'till the Declination of his Age.

As it was his good Fortune to be moulded firſt by Maſters the moſt excellent in their Kind, ſo it was his own Virtue to ſuck in with an incredible Deſire, and earneſt Application of Mind, their wiſe Inſtructions; and it was alſo his Prudence ſo to manage his Health by moderation of Diet, and bodily Exerciſe, as to preſerve his Parts without decay to a great old Age, to be lively and vigorous to the laſt, and to preſerve himſelf to his own Enjoyments, and to the Profit of Mankind. Thus principled and grounded, he conſidered that a larger Communication with learned Men was neceſſary for his Accompliſhment; and therefore having a Soul inſatiable of Knowledge, he took up a Reſolution to travel. *Egypt* was at that Time, as formerly it had been, famous for Learning, and probably the Myſteriouſneſs of their Doctrine might tempt him, as it had done *Pythagoras* and others, to converſe with the Prieſthood of that Country, which appears to have been particularly his Buſineſs, by the Treatiſe of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, which he has left us; in which he ſhews himſelf not meanly verſed in the ancient Theology and Philoſophy of thoſe wiſe Men. From *Egypt* returning into *Greece*, he viſited in his Way all the Academies or Schools of the Philoſophers, and gathered from them many of thoſe Obſervations with which he has enriched Poſterity.

BESIDES this, he applied himſelf with extreme Diligence to collect not only all Books which were excellent in their Kind, and already publiſhed, but alſo all Sayings and Diſcourſes of wiſe Men which he had heard in Converſation, or which he had received from others by Tradition; as likewiſe the Records and publick Inſtruments preſerved in Cities which he had viſited in his Travels, and which he afterwards ſcattered through his Works. To which purpoſe, he took a particular Journey to *Sparta* to ſearch the Archives of that famous Commonwealth, to underſtand thoroughly the Model of their antient Government, their Legiſlators, their Kings, and their *Ephori*, digeſting all their memorable Deeds and Sayings with ſo much Care, that he has not omitted even thoſe of their Women, or their private Soldiers, together with their Cuſtoms, their Decrees, their Ceremonies, and the Manner of their publick and their private Living, both in Peace and War. The ſame Methods he alſo took in divers other Commonwealths, as his Lives, and his *Greek* and *Roman* Queſtions ſufficiently teſtify. From this rich Cabinet he has taken thoſe excellent Pieces which he has diſtributed to Poſterity, and which give us occaſion to deplore the Loſs of the Reſidue which either the Injury of Time, or the Negligence of Copiers have denied to us. With regard to his Opinions in Religion and Philoſophy, he in general followed the *Platonic* Sect, for he had that reverence for the Memory of *Plato* and *Socrates*, that he annually celebrated their Birth-days with a particular Veneration.

THERE can be no Exactneſs obſerved in writing the Life of *Plutarch*. His Wife's Name, her Parentage and Dowry are no where mentioned by him

him or any other, nor in what part of his Age he married, tho' 'tis probable in the Flower of it. There is reaſon to believe that his Wife's Name was *Timoxena*, whoſe Conjugal Virtues, her Abhorrency from the Vanities of her Sex, and from Superſtition, her Gravity in Behaviour, and her Conſtancy in ſupporting the Loſs of Childern, he takes occaſion to ſpeak of and applaud. The Number of his Childern were at leaſt five, a Daughter called *Timoxena*, and four Sons. Two of the Sons, *Autobulus* and *Charon*, and the Daughter, died young, the two remaining are ſuppoſed to have ſurvived him. The Name of one was *Plutarch*, after his own, and that of the other *Lamprias*, ſo called in memory of his Grandfather. This was he of all his Children who ſeems to have inherited his Father's Philoſophy, and to him we owe the Table or Catalogue of *Plutarch*'s Writings, and perhaps alſo the Apothegms. His Nephew, but whether by his Brother or Siſter remains uncertain, was *Sextus Chæroneus*, who was much honoured by that learned Emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, and who taught him the *Greek* Tongue, and the Principles of Philoſophy.

THAT *Plutarch* was married in his own Country, and that before he came to *Rome*, is probable; that the Fame of him was come before him, by reaſon of ſome Part of his Works already publiſhed, is alſo credible, becauſe he had ſo great Reſort of the *Roman* Nobility to hear him read immediately, as we believe, upon his coming; that he was invited thither by the Correſpondence he had with *Soſſius Senecio*, might be one Reaſon of his undertaking that Journey is almoſt undeniable. It likewiſe appears he was divers times at *Rome*, and perhaps before he came to inhabit there, might make Acquaintance

Acquaintance with this worthy Man *Senecio* (who was four times Conſul) to whom he dedicated almoſt all the Lives of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. He had the Opportunity while he was at *Rome*, by the favour of many great and learned Men then living, to ſearch the Records of the Capitol, and the Libraries, which might furniſh him with proper Inſtruments and Materials for ſo noble an Undertaking as that of the *Roman* Lives, a Deſign which he had formed early, and on which he had reſolved to build his Fame. Not but that he was intruſted alſo with the Management of the publick Affairs in the Empire, during his Reſidence in the Metropolis, which may be made out by what *Suidas* relates of him. *Plutarch*, ſays he, lived in the Time of *Trajan*, and alſo before his Reign, that Emperor beſtowed upon him the Dignity of Conſul; an Edict was alſo made in favour of him, that the Magiſtrates or Officers of *Illyria* ſhould do nothing in that Province without the Knowledge and Approbation of *Plutarch*. When he was made known to *Trajan* is like the reſt uncertain, or by what Means, whether by *Senecio*, or any other, he was introduced to his Acquaintance. But 'tis moſt likely that *Trajan*, then a private Man, was one of his Auditors, among others of the Nobility of *Rome*. 'Tis alſo thought this wiſe Emperor made uſe of him in all his Councils, and that the Happineſs which attended him in his Undertakings, together with the Adminiſtration of the Government, which in all his Reign was juſt and regular, proceeded from the Inſtructions given him by this wiſe and excellent Man.

FOR the Time of his abode in the imperial City, if he came as early as *Veſpaſian*, and departed not till after *Trajan*'s Death, as is generally thought, he

he might continue in *Italy* near forty Years. This is more certain, becauſe gathered from himſelf, that his *Lives* were almoſt the lateſt of his Works, and therefore we may well conclude, that having modelled but not finiſhed them at *Rome*: he afterwards reſumed the Work in his own Country, which perfecting in his old Age, he dedicated to his Friend *Senecio*, ſtill living, as appears by what he has written in the Proem to his Lives. The Deſire of viſiting his own Country, ſo natural to all Men, and the Approaches of old Age (for he could not be much leſs than ſixty) and perhaps alſo the Death of *Trajan*, prevailed with him at laſt to leave *Italy*. After his Return, he was by the unanimous Conſent of his Citizens, choſen *Archon*, or chief Magiſtrate of *Chæronea*, and not long after admitted himſelf into the Number of *Apollo*'s Prieſts, in both which Employments he ſeems to have continued till his Death; of which we have no particular Account, either as to the Manner of it, or the Year, only 'tis evident that he lived and continued his Studies to a great old Age.

PLUTARCH has been juſtly praiſed for his Copiouſneſs of Learning, his Integrity, Perſpicuity, and more than all this, for a certain Air of Goodneſs which appears through all his Writings. His Buſineſs was not to pleaſe the Ear, but to charm, and to inſtruct the Mind; and therefore we may eaſily forgive the Cadences of his Words, and the Roughneſs of his Expreſſion; yet for Manlineſs of Eloquence, if it abounded not in this Writer, it was not wanting in him. He neither ſtudied the ſublime Style, nor affected the flowery. The choice of Words, the Numbers of Periods, the Turns of Sentences, and thoſe other Ornaments of Speech, he neither ſought nor ſhunn'd. But the Depth of Senſe,

Senſe, the Accuracy of Judgment, the Diſpoſition of the Parts, and Contexture of the Whole, in ſo admirable and vaſt a Field of Matter, and laſtly, the Copiouſneſs and Variety of Words appear ſhining through his whole Works.

IT is eaſy to lead this Writer with the Praiſes and Commemorations of the Learned in all Ages, for both antient and modern have made honourable mention of him. To overburden this ſhort Account with long Quotations is enough to raiſe a Diſtruſt in common Readers, that *Plutarch* wants them. *Theodorus Gaza*, a Man learned in the *Latin* Tongue, and a great Reſtorer of the *Greek*, who lived above two hundred Years ago, deſerves to have his Suffrage ſet down in Words at length; for the reſt have only commended *Plutarch* more than any ſingle Author, but he has extolled him above all together. It is ſaid, that having this extravagant Queſtion put to him by a Friend, that if Learning muſt ſuffer a general Shipwreck, and he had only his Choice left him of preſerving one Author, who ſhould be the Man he would preſerve? he anſwered, *Plutarch*; and might probably give this Reaſon, that in ſaving him he ſhould ſave the beſt Collection of them all.

THE Epigram of *Agathias* deſerves alſo to be remembered; this Author flouriſhed about the Year Five Hundred, in the Reign of the Emperor *Juſtinian*; the Verſes are extant in the *Anthologia*, and with the Tranſlation of them by Mr. *Dryden*, I will conclude the Praiſes of this Author, premiſing firſt, that they are ſuppoſed to be written upon a Statue erected by the *Romans* to his Memory.

Cheronean Plutarch, *to thy deathleſs Praiſe,*
Does martial Rome *this grateful Statue raiſe;*
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Becauſe both Greece *and She thy Fame have ſhar'd,*
Their Heroes written, and their Lives compar'd.
But thou thyſelf couldſt never write thy own;
Their Lives have Parallels, but thine has none.

LUCIAN.

LUCIAN, as pleaſing and uſeful as he was in his Writings, has left ſo little of his own Affairs on Record, that there is ſcarce ſufficient to fill a Page from his Birth to his Death. There were many of the Name of *Lucian* among the Antients, eminent in ſeveral Ways, and whoſe Names have reached Poſterity with Honour and Applauſe. *Suidas* mentions one as a Man of ſingular Probity, who having diſcharged the Adminiſtration of the chief Præfect of the Oriental Empire under *Arcadius* with extraordinary Juſtice and Praiſe of the People, drew on himſelf the Envy and Hate of the Courtiers (the conſtant Attendant of eminent Virtue and Merit) and the Anger of the Emperor himſelf, and was at laſt violently deſtroyed.

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and ſo rare, becauſe he hoped from that Buſineſs not only a ſpeedy Supply to his own Wants, but was ſecure that his Education in that Art would be much leſs expenſive to him.

HE was born in *Samoſata*, a City of *Syria*, not far from the River *Euphrates*, and for this Reaſon he calls himſelf more than once an *Aſſyrian*, or a *Syrian*; but he was derived from a *Greek* Original, his Forefathers having been Citizens of *Patra* in *Achaia*. We have nothing certain as to the exact Time of his Birth; *Suidas* confirms his flouriſhing under the Emperor *Trajan*; but then he was likewiſe before him. Some mention the Reign of *Adrian*, but it cannot be fixed to any Year or Conſulate. The Perſon he was bound to was his Uncle, a Man of a ſevere and moroſe Temper, of whom he was to learn the Statuaries and Stonecutters Art; for his Father obſerving our *Lucian*, now a Boy, of his own Head, and without any Inſtructor, make various Figures in Wax, he perſuaded himſelf that if he had a good Maſter, he could not but arrive to an uncommon Excellence in it.

BUT it happened in the very beginning of his Time he broke a Model, and was very ſeverely called to account for it by his Maſter: He not liking this Treatment, and having a Soul and Genius above any mechanic Trade, ran away home. After which in his Sleep there appeared to him two young Women, or rather the tutelary Goddeſſes of the Statuary Art, and of the Liberal Sciences, hotly diſputing of their Preference to each other, and on a full Hearing of both Sides, he bids adieu to Statuary, and intirely ſurrenders himſelf to the Conduct of Virtue and Learning. And as his Deſires of Improvement were great, and the Inſtructions

ſtructions he had very good, the Progreſs he made was as conſiderable, till by the Maturity of his Age, and his Study, he made his Appearance in the World. Tho' it is not ſuppoſed, that there is any thing of Reality in this Dream or Viſion of *Lucian*, which he treats of in his Works, yet this may be gather'd from it, that *Lucian* himſelf having conſulted his Genius, and the Nature of the Study his Father had allotted him, and that to which he found a Propenſity in himſelf, quitted the former, and purſued the latter, chuſing rather to form the Minds of Men, than their Statues.

In his Youth he taught Rhetoric in *Gaul*, and in ſeveral other Places. He pleaded likewiſe at the Bar in *Antioch*, the Capital of *Syria*, but the Noiſe of the Bar diſguſting, and his ill Succeſs in Cauſes diſheartning him, he quitted the Practice of Rhetoric and the Law, and applied himſelf to Writing. He was forty Years old when he firſt took to Philoſophy. Having a mind to make himſelf known in *Macedon*, he took the Opportunity of ſpeaking in the publick Aſſembly of all that Region. In his old Age he was received into the Imperial Family, and had the Place of Intendant of *Egypt*, after he had travelled through almoſt all the known Countries of that Age, to improve his Knowledge in Men, Manners, and Arts. For ſome Writers make this particular Obſervation on his Travels into *Gaul*, and Reſidence in that Country, that he gained there the greateſt Part of his Knowledge in Rhetoric; that Region being in his Age, and alſo before it, a Nurſery of Eloquence and Oratory as *Juvenal*, *Martial*, and others ſufficiently witneſs.

The Manner of his Death is obſcure to us, tho' 'tis moſt probable he died of the Gout. *Suidas* alone tells a Story of his being worried to Death

and devoured by Dogs returning from a Feaſt, which being ſo uncommon a Death, ſo very improbable, and atteſted only by one Author, has found little Credit with Poſterity. If it be true that he was once a *Chriſtian*, and afterwards became a *Renegade* to that Belief, perhaps ſome Zealots may have invented this Tale of his Death as a juſt and ſignal Puniſhment for his Apoſtacy. This Story is generally looked upon as a Fiction, and it is more likely that he ſhould die in his Bed at ſo great an Age as fourſcore and ten, than be torn in pieces and devoured by Dogs, when he was too feeble to defend himſelf. Of his Poſterity we know nothing more, than that he left a Son behind him, who was as much in favour with the Emperor *Julian* as his Father had been with *Aurelius* the Philoſopher. This Son became in Time a famous *Sophiſt*, and among the Works of *Julian*, we find an Epiſtle of that great Perſon to him.

LUCIAN ſeems to have taken up no ſettled Principles of Religion, he rather doubted of every Thing, weighed all Opinions, and adher'd to none of them, only uſed them as they ſerved his Occaſion for the preſent Dialogue, and perhaps rejected them in the next. And this is the more likely if we conſider the Genius of the Man, whoſe Image we may clearly ſee in the Glaſs which he holds before us of his Writings. He is in one half of his Book a *Stoic*, in the other an *Epicuræan*, never conſtant to himſelf in any Scheme of Divinity, unleſs it be in deſpiſing his *Gentile* Gods. And this Deriſion, as it ſhews the Man himſelf, ſo it gives us an Idea of the Age in which he lived; for if that had been devout or ignorant, his ſcoffing Humour had been either reſtrained, or had not paſſed unpuniſhed, all knowing Ages being naturally Sceptic, and not at

at all bigotted, which, if I am not much deceived, is the proper Character of our own. In ſhort, he was too fantaſtical, too giddy, too irreſolute either to be any thing at all, or any thing long; and in this View I cannot think he was either a ſteady Atheiſt, or a Deiſt, but a Doubter, a Sceptic, as he plainly declares himſelf to be in the Dialogue, when he puts himſelf under the Name of *Hermotimus*, the Stoic, called, *The Dialogue of the* Sects.

As for his Morals, they are ſpoken of as variouſly as his Opinions; ſome are for decrying him more than he deſerves, his Defenders themſelves dare not ſet him up for a Pattern of ſevere Virtue; no Man is ſo profligate as openly to profeſs Vice; and therefore it is no wonder if under the Reign of *Nerva*, *Trajan*, *Hadrian*, and the two *Antonines*, of which the laſt was his Patron and Benefactor, he lived not ſo much a Libertine as he had it to be in his Nature. He is more accuſed for his Love of Boys than of Women. Not that we have any particular Story to convince us of this deteſtable Paſſion in him, but his own Writings bear this Record againſt him, that he ſpeaks often of it, and I know not that ever he condemns it. Repeated Expreſſions as well as repeated Actions witneſs ſome ſecret Pleaſure in the Deed, or at leaſt ſome ſecret Inclination to it. He ſeems to inſinuate in his Dialogue of *Loves*, that *Socrates* was given to this Vice, but we find not that he blames him for it; which, had he been wholly innocent himſelf, it became a Philoſopher to have done. He is accuſed likewiſe for writing too luſciouſly in his Dialogues of the *Harlots*. We find not however that *Lucian* was charged with the Wantonneſs of his Dialogues in his Life-time; if he had been, he would certainly have anſwer'd for himſelf, as he

did to thoſe who accuſed him for expoſing *Socrates*, *Plato*, and *Diogenes*, and other great Philoſophers, to the Laughter of the People when *Jupiter* ſold them by Inch of Candle.

IN other reſpects this Writer was of a Life as unblameable as any Man, for ought we find to the contrary; and this probable Inducement favours the Opinion, becauſe he had ſo honourable an Employment under *Marcus Aurelius*, an Emperor, as clear-ſighted as he was truly virtuous. This Writer ſeems to be an Enemy to nothing but to Vice and Folly. The Pictures which he draws of *Nigrinus* and of *Demonax*, are as fair as that of Virtue herſelf, if, as the Philoſopher ſaid, ſhe could wear a Body. And if we oppoſe to them the Lives of *Alexander*, the falſe Prophet, and of *Peregrinus*, how pleaſingly, and with how much Profit does the Deformity of the laſt ſet off the Beauty of the firſt?

LUCIAN is generally allowed to have been an univerſal Scholar, and a prodigious Wit; he is *Attic* and neat in his Style, clear in his Narration, and wonderful facetious in his Repartees; he furniſhes you with almoſt all the poetical Hiſtory in ſuch a diverting Manner, that you will not eaſily forget it; and ſupplies the moſt dry and barren Wit with a rich Plenty of Materials. If we compare his Style with the *Greek* Hiſtorians his Cotemporaries, or near his Time, we ſhall find it much more pure than that of *Plutarch*, *Dion*, or *Appian*, tho' not ſo grave; becauſe his Subjects and theirs required to be treated after a different Manner. It was not of an uniform Web, ſays *Mayn*, like *Thucydides*, *Polybius*, and ſome others whom he names, but was ſomewhat peculiar to himſelf; his Words well choſen, his Periods round, the Parts

of

of his Sentences harmoniouſly divided; a full Flood, or even a Torrent of Perſuaſion, without Inequalities or Swellings, ſuch as might be put in equal Compariſon with the beſt Orations of *Demoſthenes*, or *Iſocrates*, not ſo dry as the firſt, or ſo flowery as the laſt. His Wit, ſays *Ablancourt*, was full of Urbanity, that *Attic* Salt, which the *French* call *fine Raillery:* not obſcene, not groſs, not rude, but facetious, well-manner'd, and well-bred. Only he will not allow his Love the Quality laſt mentioned, but thinks it ruſtical, and according either to his own Genius, or that of the Age in which he lived.

If Wit conſiſts in the Propriety of Thoughts and Words, then *Lucian*'s Thoughts and Words are always proper to his Characters, and to his Subjects. If the Pleaſure ariſing from Comedy and Satire be either Laughter, or ſome nobler Sort of Delight which is above it, no Man is ſo great a Maſter of Irony as this Writer. That Figure is not only a keen, but a ſhining Weapon in his Hand, it glitters in the Eyes of thoſe it kills; his own Gods, his greateſt Enemies, are not butchered by him, but fairly ſlain; they muſt acknowledge the Hero in the Stroke, and take the Comfort which *Virgil* gives to a dying Captain, *Æneæ magni dextrâ cadis.*

I know not whom *Lucian* imitated, unleſs it was *Ariſtophanes*, (for you never find him mentioning any *Roman* Wit, ſo much the *Grecians* thought themſelves ſuperior to their Conquerors.) But he who has beſt imitated him in *Latin* is *Eraſmus*, and in *French Fontenelle* in his *Dialogues of the Dead*, which I never read but with a new Pleaſure.

The Way which *Lucian* choſe to deliver his pleaſing and profitable Truths, was that of Dialogue.

logue. He was ſenſible of the difficult Taſk he undertook in this way of Writing, as appears in his Diſcourſe againſt one who had called him *Prometheus*. He owns himſelf in this Particular to be like him, to whom he was reſembled, to be the Inventor of a new Work in a new manner, the Model of which he had from none before him; but adds withal, that if he could not give it the Graces which belong to ſo happy an Invention, he deſerves to be torn by twelve Vultures inſtead of one, which preys upon the Heart of that firſt Man-potter. For, to quit the beaten Road of the Ancients and take a Path of his own chooſing, he acknowledges to be a bold and ridiculous Attempt, if it ſucceed not. The Mirth of Dialogue and Comedy in my Work, ſays he, is not enough to make it pleaſing; becauſe the Union of two Contraries may as well produce a Monſter as a Miracle, as a Centaur reſults from the joint Nature of Horſe and Man.

IT is evident, that the chief Deſign of this Writer was to diſneſt Heaven of ſo many immoral and debauched Deities; his next, to expoſe the mock Philoſophers; and his laſt, to give us Examples of a good Life in the Perſons of the true. The reſt of his Diſcourſes are on mixed Subjects, leſs for Profit than Delight; and ſome of them too libertine.

CAIUS CRISPUS. SALLUSTIUS.

THIS excellent Hiſtorian was born at *Amiternum*, in the Country of the *Sabines*, in the Year

Year Six hundred and ſixty-eight, from the Founding of *Rome*; being the very ſame wherein, according to the *Roman* Annals, *Athens* was taken and ſacked by *Sylla*. He was deſcended from the noble Family of the *Salluſtii*, which had for a long Series of Years made a Figure in the ſecond Order or Degree of Quality in the Republick. He had his Education at *Rome*, the moſt illuſtrious City then in the World; and finding his Genius not to lie to Arms or Horſes, but the more refined Labours of the Brain, he applied himſelf to the Purſuit of Learning.

He was led, as well by his Judgment as his Inclination to the Buſineſs of Hiſtory. And, as in the Courſe of his Education he had for his Præceptor, among others, *Atteius Pretextatus*, entitled *Philologus*, one of the moſt famous Grammarians of the Age; the ſame *Atteius*, on his deſigning an Hiſtory, furniſhed him with an Abſtract of the Affairs of the *Romans*, to make his Choice of which he ſhould write. There is reaſon to believe he had laid the Foundation of his hiſtorical Works in his earlier Years, but that he was interrupted from proſecuting it by the Occupations of a publick Employment; for being ſeized by the Diſeaſe of Ambition, as he very frankly intimates himſelf, he would needs have a Poſt in the Government. It ought to be obſerved, that the Manners of the *Romans* were at that time extremely degenerated. Now *Salluſt* coming upon the Stage in times ſo corrupt, and being young, it will be the leſs wonder'd at, that he ſuffered himſelf to be overcome. It was enough perhaps to batter down a ſeverer Virtue than his, and yet he profeſſes that he did in his heart abominate the Vices he ſaw practiſed. But the Tide againſt him was ſo ſtrong, that all the

the great and magnanimous Notions he had been poſſeſſed with of the Virtue and Diſcipline of the ancient *Romans* became languid in him. In ſhort, he was borne away by the Torrent, and plunged into the common Corruption.

WE are told he was made a Tribune of the People in the Year that *Clodius* was killed by *Milo*. In this Office (wherein by the way it is ſaid he got no Reputation) he acted with great Fierceneſs againſt *Milo*, to revenge the Treatment receiv'd from him on the ſcore of *Fauſta*, the Daughter of *Sylla*, with whom having been taken in Adultery, *Milo*, as Tribune at that Juncture, had ſentenced to be ſeverely whipped; which Puniſhment he commuted by a Sum of Money. Moreover, the Invective aſcribed to *Cicero* relates, that in the Year ſeven hundred and three or four, he was expelled the Senate by the then Cenſors *Appius Claudius* and *Calpurnius Piſo*, upon account of his Fornications and Adulteries. *Suetonius* alſo tells us, that *Lenæus* a Grammarian and Freedman of *Pompey*'s, laſhed him ſeverely in *Lampoons*, calling him *Whoremaſter*, *Glutton*, *Debauchee*, and a Monſter of Inconſiſtencies in his Life and Writings. And the aforementioned Invective arraigns him of ſelling his Patrimony in the Life-time of his Father, of his having been twice tried for Crimes, whereby he was brought into the laſt Jeopardy; and from whence he eſcaped not by his own Innocence, but by his Judges ſuffering themſelves to be forſworn; of his having the Impudence in open Senate to acknowledge himſelf guilty of Adultery; and, in fine, of ſeveral other Enormities too ſcandalous to be inſerted in this Place.

AFTER his Expulſion out of the Senate, and during his Receſs from publick Affairs, he applied himſelf

Salluſt - a man of most profligate morals - but of great talents -

himſelf to the Proſecution of his former Deſign, of compiling his Hiſtory. But ſome time after upon *Julius Cæſar*'s coming to be at the Head of Affairs, *Salluſt* was not only reſtored to his Dignity of Senator, but was made Quæſtor. In which Office, the aforeſaid Invective proceeds to accuſe him of great Corruption, of making Sale of every thing that he could in it, of uſing it only as an Occaſion of Plunder, and of bringing the very Poſt into Diſgrace. However he was afterwards made Prætor, I ſuppoſe, by the like Promotion of *Cæſar*'s; in which Employment, as we have it from *Hirtius*, in the Beginning of his Hiſtory of the *African* War, *Cæſar* ſent him with a Squadron of his Fleet againſt the Iſland of *Cercina*, upon Intelligence there was a great Quantity of Corn in it. Moreover *Dio* has another Paſſage concerning his Prætorſhip, to this purpoſe, that the Forces of *Cæſar* which lay in *Campania*, and were deſigned for *Africa*, happening to mutiny, and the Prætor *Salluſt* departing for *Rome* to give him an Account of it, he was very near being knock'd on the Head by ſome of the Soldiers who purſued him, and put to the Sword two Senators, and ſpared none that fell into their hands. The ſame Author relates, that *Cæſar* beſtowed on him alſo the Government of *Numidia*. And here again the Invective I have quoted (whoſe Authority is much ſuſpected) falls upon him for his Covetouſneſs and Rapine, intimating that he treated it not like a Province, but an Enemy's Country, by his Pollings and Exactions; that he ſcraped together all that he could get, and brought it off for his own Uſe. By this means he returned ſo rich from *Africa*, that he purchaſed one of the nobleſt Dwellings in *Rome* on the Quirinal Mount with ſpacious Gardens, which to this day are called

Cæsar & Sallust — Sallust as Proconsul of Numidia — a great robber returns to Rome with vast riches

led the Gardens of *Salluſt*: Beſides this, he had a Country-Houſe at *Tivoli*, which *Cicero* upbraids him with in the ſame Invective. The Remark of *La Mothe* upon this Occaſion, is very juſt: No one ever ſpoke more handſomely in Defence of Virtue, and particularly of Chaſtity than he, nor uſed more rigid Cenſures againſt the Exceſs and Avarice of his time; and therefore the Infamy of his Actions fell the heavier upon him, becauſe it was conſider'd how ſeverely he had expoſed thoſe in his Hiſtory, who were much leſs guilty of Rapine than himſelf; and *Metellus*, among others, whoſe Exceſſes in *Spain* he laid open with the utmoſt Freedom and Severity. His Life was very different from his Writings, and his Example alone is ſufficient to prove, that as very good Men may write very bad Books, ſo vicious Men may ſometimes compoſe very good; it being not incongruous, that an Author ſhould at the ſame time be an excellent Hiſtorian and a very wicked Man.

He married *Terentia* the Wife of *Cicero*, after her being divorced, which, whether it gave birth to the Feud that was between him and the Orator, or was ſubſequent to it, and poſſibly increaſed it, as I rather believe, remains uncertain; but, as to his Death, we are ſure that it happened ſome few Years after that of *Cæſar*, that he arrived to the Age of threeſcore and two, and departed this Life in his own Country. His Reputation for Wit and Learning admitted him into the Friendſhip of the greateſt Men of his Age: He was more particularly intimate with *Meſſala*, *Cornelius Nepos*, and *Nigidius Figulus*. But *Cæſar* was the Perſon that had a peculiar Kindneſs for *Salluſt*, who again was a greater Admirer of the other, regarding him as

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an extraordinary Man, as appears by the two Epiſtles to the latter, and by the Character drawn of him in *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy. And yet he ſeems to have been of a Genius in many reſpects oppoſite to *Cæſar*'s, to have had different Notions of Government and of Glory, and to give the Preference tacitly to *Cato*.

THIS ſhort Account comprehends the principal Tranſactions that concern the Life and Morals of *Salluſt*; but to attempt a juſt and particular Character of his Writings, or to collect the Teſtimonies of Commendation and Praiſe beſtowed upon him in the moſt polite Ages of Literature, would infinitely exceed the Limits I propoſe on this Subject. *Tacitus* calls him *Rerum Romanarum florentiſſimum Auctorem*. *Criſpus Romana primus in Hiſtoria*, ſays *Martial*. *Agellius* in one Place pronounces him, *Subtiliſſimum Brevitatis Artificem*; in another, *Proprietatum in Verbis retinentiſſimum*. If it were left to me, ſays *Lipſius*, I ſhould not doubt to chuſe *Salluſt* for the Preſident in the College of Hiſtorians. And without detracting from *Tacitus* or *Livy*, I will venture to ſay, thoſe great Authors might have met with leſs Admiration from the World, had *Salluſt* come down to us more intire; but 'twill be remember'd by good Judges, that in theſe Matters 'tis not the Bulk but the Wit and Judgment that makes the Merit; nor will any of Taſte among the Moderns ever diſturb his Enjoyment of the Place, allowed him by the beſt Judges of Antiquity, who put him at the Head of the *Roman* Hiſtorians. We are aſſured by *Suidas*, that one *Zenobius* a *Greek* Sophiſter took the pains to tranſlate the Hiſtory of *Salluſt* into *Greek*. It is the Judgment of *Seneca*, in one of his Declamations, that he ſurpaſſed *Thucydides* (whom he profeſſed to

imitate) in his conciſe Way of Writing; and conquer'd him as he ſpeaks in his own Fortification, *Cum ſit præcipua in Thucydide Virtus Brevitas, hâc eum Salluſtius vicit, & in ſuis eum Caſtris cecidit.* We are told by *Spartian*, that *Septimius Severus* at the point of Death, feeling himſelf ſubdued by Sickneſs, ſent to his eldeſt Son that divine Oration (as he calls it,) which, *Salluſt* makes *Micipſa* at his Death ſpeak to his Children, to perſuade them to mutual Concord and Affection. It is in the Beginning of the *Jugurthine* War.

THE War of *Jugurtha* and the *Catilinarian* Conſpiracy, is all we have compleat of this Hiſtorian. Nothing is left of that excellent Hiſtory, which made him ſtyled the Prince of Hiſtorians, but four Orations and two Epiſtles, collected from the ancient Grammarians and other Writers. The Learned are not agreed, whether the two Orations to *Cæſar*, concerning the Regulation of the Commonwealth, belong to *Salluſt*. *Voſſius* took them to be genuine, not Orations but Epiſtles. The Oration againſt *Cicero*, tho' commended by *Fabius* as *Salluſt*'s, *Voſſius* thought belonged to ſome Declaimer, and was unjuſtly charged upon this Hiſtorian.

THE Criticks have been almoſt diſappointed, and laboured to little purpoſe, to lay any conſiderable Blemiſhes upon the Writings of this Hiſtorian. They would ſay indeed, that he has not been juſt to *Cicero*, in not only omitting his Character, but alſo in paſſing over in Silence Matters of Fact, that would have made for his Glory, tho' in his Account of *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy he had a fair Opportunity of mentioning ſeveral. They object, that the Prefaces of *Salluſt* have not only little or no Relation to the Pieces to which he has prefixed them, but they are alſo too long. They

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may be called, says *La Mothe*, a true Saddle for all Horſes; becauſe, as *Quintilian* well obſerves, they have nothing which relates to the Hiſtory, nor any thing which renders them more proper for one Compoſition than another. They urge, that he plundered the *Origines* of *Cato*, for old obſolete Words, and affected to innovate in his Diction and Style; and the moſt ingenious Father *Le Moyne* complains of his making *Memmius* harangue it, upon no other account than becauſe he was one of the beſt Speakers of his time. Theſe are the principal Cenſures that the Labours of *Salluſt* have undergone, and after all he will keep his ground, and continue of the foremoſt of his Order.

HIS Subject is allowed to be great and noble, it treats of Matters of Note and Importance, ſifted from every thing trivial or of Levity. He ſeems (at leaſt for the moſt part) to have been a diſintereſted and impartial Writer, to be attach'd to no particular Party, to be free from the Influence of Hope and of Fear, to have made Truth his Favourite and Care, and to have aimed at Certainty, if poſſible, in all things; inſomuch, as for the *Punick* Wars, we are told, he not only examined the Memoirs and Writings of thoſe Countries, but viſited many Places in Perſon, to avoid Miſtakes in his Accounts and Deſcriptions.

BUT 'tis not enough for Hiſtorians to produce bare Truth, how important ſoever; ſhe muſt alſo have handſome and becoming Clothes, and the Warmth and Lights of Eloquence muſt attend her. *Salluſt* is admirable in this Particular, and his Structure is animated and enlivened throughout. There is Life, there is Spirit, there is Energy in his Work; and his Diction is of the Character of Poeſy, wherein he has all the moſt glowing

Colours, tho' without any thing flaring or improper. *Pontin* has made an agreeable Parallel of the Figures and Manners of Speech in *Salluſt*, and ſome others with the like in *Virgil*; and ſhewn that the latter, in many Inſtances, is not more a Poet than the former. We are almoſt preſent in his Battles and Sieges, the Deſcriptions have ſuch a Life and Vivacity. And we are ſecretly drawn to intereſt ourſelves in the Event of his Actions and Succeſſes of his Perſons.

HE has the Art of drawing the moſt lively and inſtructive Portraitures of Men. He enters into the Bottom of their Nature, explores the Labyrinths and Receſſes of their Souls; and, with a ſort of Anatomy, lays open all the Folds and Doublings of their Spirits. In which Performance, and particularly in the Character given of *Catiline*, he hath ſet us ſee there are Qualities to be found in the Mind of Man that may look at firſt ſight inconſiſtent, yet are not ſo; but may reign alternately, if not altogether in the ſame Perſons. And laſtly, his Draughts are of that kind, that if they go before the Narration, they prepare us for it, and raiſe in our Minds an Expectation, in which he never diſappoints, that ſuch and ſuch Facts will enſue. But wherever he places them, they agree to, and ſeem to ariſe from the Actions of the Perſons.

AND as his Images of Men are excelling, his Reflections on Things are as juſt and ſolid. He had a Genius capable of comprehending and taking the Height of the greateſt Matters. And he paſſes ſuch Judgments upon them as ſeem to proceed from a finiſhed Wiſdom. I might alſo mention the Sententiouſneſs of this Hiſtorian, wherein there is as much of Poignancy as of Weight. I have

have said before, his Style approaches the Poetick; and now let me take some notice of its Brevity. There's a certain Frugality, a Continence in his Language, that he has outdone *Thucydides* himself in; and one of the Topics that *Tacitus* is praised from, is his imitating *Sallust* in this Perfection: Of which none is capable that is not of an accurate and consummate Judgment, nor without a Sort of Temperance of the Mind, and Command over a Man's Spirit. For with all his Thrift and Parsimony of Expression, there's a rich and sufficient Expence of Matter; and 'twas the Talent of this excellent Writer, tho' of very few others besides him, to come up to his own Remark upon *Cato*, *of dispatching much in a few Words*. Nor does his Conciseness at all lie in making that Garment too scanty for the Body. 'Twas not with the Ideas of his Mind only he was able to measure the greatest things, he hath also clothed them with a Style and Expression fully adequate and proportioned to their Nature, and has made at once his Thoughts and his Diction accord in Grandeur with the Dignity of his Subject. This is the *Facta Dictis Exæquanda*, which *Sallust* himself has taken notice of, as one of the trying Difficulties of History.

The *French* Critick *Rapin* has with great Exactness enter'd into the particular Accomplishments of this great Historian, and does not forget the chief of his Faults. *Sallust* is noble and sublime in his way of Writing, which made *Quintilian* compare him with *Thucydides*. But the question is, whether *Sallust*'s Style, as stiff as it is, be not more proper for History, and gives not more Force and Weight to the Discourse. Has it not also its Beauties? *Sallust*'s Character is to be exact and concise, he is principally to be commended

for the Swiftneſs and Rapidity of his Expreſſion, which animates him and gives him ſo much Life. His Deſcription of the Place where *Jugurtha* was defeated by *Metellus*, ſerves to acquaint us the better with the Fight. We ſee by it the Fortitude of the *Roman* General, as well as the Experience of the King of *Numidia*, in taking all the Advantages of the Ground; and the whole Account of the Fight is better underſtood by the Image of the Place, which the Hiſtorian ſets before our Eyes. The Deſcription of *Africa* in *Salluſt*'s War of *Jugurtha*, is too minute and particular. He ſhould not have ſaid ſo much to mark the Bounds of the Kingdom of *Atherbal* and *Jugurtha* then in queſtion. What need was there to deſcribe that vaſt Country, and to diſtinguiſh the particular Manners of ſo many different Nations? *Trogus* charges *Salluſt* and *Livy* (and not without a great deal of reaſon) with a wanton and immoderate Exceſs of Harangues in their Hiſtories. And indeed all thoſe Speeches we put in the Mouths of Great Men, carry with them an Air of Falſhood; for from what Memoirs can a Man pretend to have fetched them? And beſides, a Warriour never ſpeaks like an Orator. Therefore Harangues are ſuppoſititious, and that which *Salluſt* makes *Catiline* ſpeak to the Conſpirators, was, in all likelihood ſecret and extemporary.

THE Harangues of this Hiſtorian are admirable, but ſeldom to the purpoſe. Nothing can be finer than *Marius*'s Speech, it is the ſoundeſt Piece of Morality in the World, concerning a noble Birth; every thing there is reaſonable, and Antiquity cannot boaſt of many Diſcourſes, where one may find ſo forcible Perſuaſions to virtue; but that is out of its proper Place.

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The Harangues of military Commanders

WE ought to make the Picture of none but important Perſons, wherein *Salluſt* is faulty; for he gives us the Picture of *Sempronius*, who is but indirectly concerned in the Conſpiracy of *Catiline*: He is too prolix, when he inveighs againſt the Corruption and looſe Manners of his time: He is always angry with his Country, and ever diſcontented with the Government. He gives us too ill an Opinion of the Commonwealth, by his Invectives and Reflections upon the Luxury of *Rome*. Nothing can be more eloquent than the Deſcription of the Condition *Rome* was in when *Catiline* took the Reſolution of making himſelf Maſter of it. And when that admirable Author repreſents the Commonwealth corrupted by Luxury and Avarice, and ſinking under the Weight of its own Greatneſs, he uſes the moſt exquiſite and eloquent Expreſſions that can be met with in any Hiſtory. 'Tis in thoſe Images that a Man of Skill has an opportunity to ſhew it, and the Hiſtorians of the firſt Rate are full of thoſe fine Strokes. *Salluſt*'s Preambles, which are great Speeches full of Senſe and manly Eloquence, ſeem to me to carry with them an Air of Affectation. They are generally common Places that have no relation to the Hiſtory. Perhaps this Author had ſome Pieces of Reſerve, which he employed upon occaſion, as *Cicero* uſed to do. That Method may be proper for an Orator, who ſpeaks often in Publick; but ſuch Precaution is not allowable in an Hiſtorian, who is ſuppoſed to be Maſter of himſelf and of his time. Among the *Latins*, *Salluſt* has a noble Expreſſion, a true Wit, and an admirable Judgment. No Perſon ever imitated ſo well the judicious, exact and ſevere Style of *Thucydides*. He is ſometimes ſtiff in his Expreſſions, but he never flags; his Conciſeneſs

Conciſeneſs makes him now and then obſcure, his Manners are always true, and he gives weight to all that he ſays. His Sentiments are always fine, altho' his Morals were bad; for he continually declaims againſt Vice, and ſpeaks in favour of Virtue.

CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR.

CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR, the Son of *Lucius Julius Cæſar* and *Aurelia*, was deſcended on the Father's Side from *Iülus* the Son of *Æneas*; on the Mother's, from *Ancus Martius*. He was born at *Rome*, during the Conſulate of *C. Marius* and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, on the twelfth of *July*, about ninety Years before the Nativity. His Genius proved him worthy the Deſcent; for notwithſtanding the Difficulties of a narrow Fortune, his Virtue raiſed him to that ſtupendous Height, which few have attempted, none arrived at.

HE was contracted, whilſt a Boy, to *Caſſutia*, a Lady whoſe Family, though far from the meaneſt, was not comparable to her Riches: What Reaſons induced him to put her away, and take *Cornelia* the Daughter of *Cinna* in her ſtead, I do not find. But this Action, *Suetonius* informs us, increaſed the Hatred *Sylla* bore him on the ſcore of his Affinity to *Marius*, who married his Aunt. At ſixteen he loſt his Father, and the next Conſulate put up to be *Flamen Dialis*, or High-Prieſt of *Jupiter*; whether he obtained it or no, Authors differ. *Suetonius* affirms he did; *Plutarch* ſays otherwiſe, whoſe Opinion is much the more likely

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of the two: for *Sylla*, having then the ſupreme Power in his hands, might with leſs trouble have prevented *Cæſar*'s being choſen, than turn him out of the Pontificate after he had once gained it by the Suffrages of the People. 'Tis agreed on all hands this Election had like to have proved fatal to him, for his early Ambition rouſed the Dictator's Jealouſies; the Preſages he made of him are very remarkable. You conſider not, ſays he to the Perſons that were Suitors for *Cæſar*'s Life, and urged the Innocency of his Youth, that many *Marius*'s are in that Boy.

THUS *Cæſar*, though labouring under the Misfortune of a Quartan Ague, was obliged to hide among the *Sabines*, and remove his Lodgings every Night; yet his utmoſt Caution could not prevent his falling in ſometimes with the Dictator's Parties. Such was the Courſe of *Cæſar*'s Life, till at length *Sylla* yielding to the repeated Inſtances of *Mamercus Emilius*, *Aurelius Cotta*, and the Veſtal Virgins, vouchſafed him a Pardon, though not without the utmoſt Reluctancy. Take, ſaid he, the fatal Gift you ſo earneſtly deſire; but remember, I have foretold you, he will one day prove the ruin of our Party. This Conceſſion, in a manner extorted from *Sylla*, *Cæſar* judged no ſufficient Security for his Perſon; wherefore, ſo long as the other was in Power, he continued at as great a diſtance from *Rome* as poſſible. He ſerved as a Voluntier in *Aſia*, under *Thermus* the Prætor, who ſent him to *Bithynia* for the Fleet; where he contracted a Friendſhip with King *Nicomedes*. Returning from thence, he behaved himſelf ſo well at the Siege of *Mitylene*, he obtained a *Civic* Crown; nor did he give leſs Proof of his Courage, when under the Command of *Servilius Iſauricus* in *Sicily*, the

& Orators
the time he remained there, which was only ſhort. For, on Advice that *Sylla*'s Intereſt declined, he quitted the Camp; but inſtead of returning to *Rome*, as his Friends deſired, took a Voyage for *Rhodes*, where with *Cicero* he became a Hearer of *Apollonius*, *Molon*'s Son, a great Rhetorician, deſigning to render himſelf equally famous at the Bar and in the Field. In this Study he made no indifferent Progreſs, and we may eaſily conclude from the maſculine and polite Style of his Commentaries, with that admirable Speech on *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy, recorded by *Salluſt*, he might have rivalled *Tully*, had not more important Reaſons changed the Lawyer for the Stateſman, the Orator for the General; Arts before as incompatible as Empire and Liberty, but reconciled in *Cæſar*.

IN his Paſſage to *Rhodes* he was taken by the Pirates that infeſted thoſe Seas, who offered him his Liberty for twenty Talents; but thinking that Sum too ſmall, he added of his own accord thirty more. Diſpatching Meſſengers to raiſe the Money, he remained their Priſoner forty Days till it came, attended only by his Phyſician and two Servants. During his Stay amongſt them, as an Argument of his Unconcern, he frequently employed his time in making Verſes and Orations, obliged them to be his Auditors; and if their want of Judgment, or Illnature gave him not the Praiſes he deſerved, would threaten in jeſt to crucify them; which he afterwards performed in earneſt, though then it only paſſed for Raillery and the Effect of juvenile Heat.

THE firſt Proof he gave of his Excellence in Speaking, was when he accuſed *Dolabella* of Male-Adminiſtration in *Greece*; but loſt more by the Enemies he made on that occaſion than he gained by

by the Applauſe. His ſecond Attempt indeed, againſt *Publius Antonius* for Bribery, was more ſucceſsful; he engaged in this Affair to oblige the *Grecians*, and urged the Matter ſo home before *M. Lucullus*, Prætor of *Macedonia*, that the Defendant was glad to appeal to the Tribunes at *Rome*.

CÆSAR all this while lived far greater than his Patrimony could afford, contracted many Debts, owed thirteen hundred Talents before he obtained any publick Office; and his Enemies, not reflecting to how great Advantage he beſtowed his Money, did not deſcry the Politician through the Prodigal. Still, in vain, they expected when his Credit ſhould ſink, till he had diſcharged the moſt honourable Employment in the State, and effectually gained his Point, by ſettling a Character for the moſt generous, beſthumoured Nobleman in *Rome*.

THE firſt Tryal he made of his Intereſt, was, when he ſtood with *C. Popilius* for a Tribunate of the Soldiers, and carried it. Some time after he was choſen Quæſtor; but that Year had the Misfortune to loſe his Aunt *Julia*, and Wife *Cornelia*. It had always been the cuſtom, to make Orations on the Deceaſe of grave Matrons, but never on young Women; *Cæſar* however took this opportunity to ſhew the Affection he had for his departed Lady, and ſo well was he beloved by the People, they looked upon the Innovation as the Effect of his Tenderneſs and Good-nature. But making the Harangue in honour of his Aunt's Memory, he produced the Images of her Huſband *Marius*, which nobody had ever the Hardineſs to do, ſince the Adminiſtration came into *Sylla*'s hands, who declared *Marius*'s Party Enemies to the State;

a politick, bold and happy Attempt! for by this means he revived their drooping Hopes, and made himſelf Head of that Faction. But *Cæſar* knew the Poſture of Affairs was ſomething changed, therefore thought he might ſafely venture to do his Uncle that Juſtice, which he afterwards did his Enemy; for when the Civil Wars were decided, thinking it ſufficient Revenge to have conquered, he was ſo far from triumphing over the Misfortunes of his Rival, he reſtored thoſe Trophies the People had demoliſhed. Upon which Occaſion *Cicero* was heard to ſay, *Cæſar* by ſetting up *Pompey*'s Statues had eſtabliſhed his own.

BEING now about twenty-four Years of Age, he began to enter upon Action; and the farther *Spain* was the Theatre, where he attended the Prætor *Fotus*, and acquitted himſelf with Succeſs. Yet beholding the Statue of *Alexander* the Great in the Temple of *Hercules* at *Cales*, (whither he went by the Prætor's Command to hold a Convention of the States) he was ſeized with an extraordinary Melancholy, reflecting what an unactive Life he had hitherto led, whereas that noble *Grecian* by his Age had ſubdued many Nations. After his Return from *Spain* he married *Pompeia*, leſs renowned for Virtue than Beauty, witneſs her Affair with *Clodius*; all *Cæſar's* Accompliſhments which enſlaved the World, were not ſufficient to fix the roving Inclinations of a Woman; nay, ſo imprudent were her Deſires, ſhe muſt needs appoint the Gallant an Interview at her own Palace, when (*Cæſar* being Prætor) ſhe and all the *Roman Ladies* were celebrating thoſe ſacred Rites to the *Goddeſs Bona*, where Men were never permitted to be preſent. *Clodius* however was detected and complained of, not only as an Adulterer, but a Prophaner

Prophaner of the Holy Ceremonies; and *Cæsar* thought it high time at once to be rid of his Wife and the Scandal: Yet being summoned as a Witness against *Clodius*, he said, he had nothing to alledge against him. Why, then, said the Prosecutors, have you dismissed *Pompeia? Because*, replied he, *I would not have my Wife even suspected.* Thus *Cæsar* was divorced, and *Clodius* acquitted.

FINDING his Generosity turned to so good Account, he still continued to give Proofs of it on all occasions. Being elected Ædile, his Magnificence so far excelled his Collegues, that the whole Honour redounded only to *Cæsar*, whilst *Bibulus* shared the same fate with *Pollux*, the other with *Castor*; by whose Name alone the Temple in the *Forum* was called, dedicated to both the Brother-Twins.

EVERY Day increased the Affection of the People, and *Cæsar* relying on their Favour, put up for the extraordinary Government of *Egypt*, because the *Alexandrians* had expelled their King. He wanted not Suffrages, but *Ptolemy* having formerly been honoured by the Senate with the Name of *Friend*, now found Protection from his Allies. This made the first Disappointment he met with, nor did this discourage him from standing soon after for the Pontificate, which came void by the Death of *Metellus*. *Catullus* and *Isauricus*, both Persons of great Intereſt in the Senate, were his Competitors; the former dreading the Loss of his Honour, privately sent *Cæsar* a considerable Offer to desist, for he had not much to apprehend from *Isauricus*; but he gave him to understand he would himself expend a much larger Sum to carry the Day. When the time appointed for the Election was come, leaving the House, he told his Mother

ſhe ſhould either ſee him High-Prieſt that Day, or baniſhed. Thus, probably, had he miſſed of the Office, his future Hopes had been for ever daſhed; but Fortune had not a mind to diſoblige the Man for whom ſhe had already cut out ſo much Buſineſs; therefore decided the Cauſe in his favour by a vaſt Majority of Votes.

WHEN *Catiline*'s Conſpiracy broke out, *Cæſar* was Prætor. The Queſtion being put, what ſhould be done with *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and the reſt of their Faction, after many Senators had voted for putting them to death, he ſtood up and made an Oration in their favour, which had a ſtrange Effect upon the Audience; till the ſevere *Cato*, tranſported with Zeal for the Commonwealth, made a virulent Speech, and inſinuated him to be a Party to the Plot, which effectually turned the Scales. Whether *Cæſar* was really concerned in this Affair, or *Cato*'s Suſpicions were falſe, has furniſhed the World with Matter of Diſpute, and will for ever remain undetermined.

HE found himſelf as much hated by the Nobility, as beloved by the Commons; for which reaſon he countenanced the Tribune *Metellus*, when he preferred Laws in favour of the latter; and therefore the Senate deprived him of the Prætorſhip, but reſtored it again, and returned him Thanks, when they found he modeſtly declined doing himſelf Juſtice by that Force the People offered him.

HIS Præture ended, *Cæſar* was choſen Governor of the farther *Spain*. His Creditors, who were very numerous, murmur'd at his Thoughts of leaving *Rome* before they were paid; wherefore, to ſatisfy the moſt importunate, he got *Craſſus* to be engaged for him, as far as eight hundred and

and thirty Talents; then purſued his intended Journey. Paſſing by a ſmall Village on the *Alps*, inhabited by a few miſerable Wretches, his Friends in jeſt demanded, whether he thought the People had any Diſputes for Offices, or Feuds about Elections there? No, reply'd *Cæſar*; but I aſſure you ſincerely, I would rather be the firſt among theſe, than the ſecond Man at *Rome*. They tell you likewiſe, as a farther Inſtance of his Ambition, he uſed frequently to repeat two Verſes of *Euripides*, which he thus inverted:

Nam ſi Violandum eſt Jus, regnandi gratia
Violandum eſt; aliis rebus Pietatem colas.

If Violation of the Laws admit
Of Reaſon, Empire muſt the Failing quit;
In other Things to Piety ſubmit.

YET even the ſage *Plutarch* agrees, *Cæſar* would have been content with an Equal, *Pompey* would not.

ARRIVING in *Spain* he ſoon raiſed a conſiderable Army, reduced *Portugal* and *Gallicia*, then puſhing his Succeſs, advanced higher, and carried his Arms as far that Way as the Ocean would permit. When the Year expired he returned to *Rome*, where he enter'd as a private Perſon, and with *Bibulus* was choſen Conſul. The great Triumvirs were now agreed, and *Cæſar* marrying his Daughter *Julia* to *Pompey*, and being ſupported both by him and *Craſſus*, he was equal to either of them; and had not the latter's untimely Death in *Parthia* left the other two ſole Diſputers for the ſupreme Power, thoſe Wars which coſt *Rome* ſo much Bloodſhed had never happened.

THUS *Cæſar* having by the Intereſt of *Craſſus* and *Pompey*, notwithſtanding *Bibulus* oppoſed him,

paſſed ſuch Edicts as made him more popular than before, and diſcharged the Office of Conſul much to his own Satisfaction, obtained the Government of *Illyricum*, and both the Provinces of *Gaul*, where *Plutarch* informs us in nine Years time he took five hundred Towns by Storm, conquered three hundred States, engaged three Millions of Men at ſeveral times, killed one third and took another. But for a farther Account of his glorious Exploits in that Country, of his Actions in *Italy*, *Spain*, *Greece*, *Alexandria*, *Aſia*, *Africa*, you muſt conſult his Commentaries. Let it ſuffice to obſerve here, that ſo long as *Craſſus* and *Cæſar*'s Daughter *Julia* lived, *Pompey* and he were in perfect Friendſhip; the greateſt Men at *Rome* made their court to him; *Pompey*, *Craſſus*, *Appius* the Prætor of *Sardinia*, and *Nepos* Proconſul of *Spain* at once attended him at *Lucca*, where one hundred and twenty Lictors, and above two hundred Senators were preſent. In ſhort, the Management of Affairs at *Rome* was wholly decided by theſe three powerful Men. But when *Craſſus* died, *Cæſar* and *Pompey* fell out, ſo the civil Wars began.

How much Induſtry, Conduct, and Courage, how much Mercy he ſhewed to his Enemies, and how well he was beloved by his own Soldiers, his excellent Memoirs do abundantly teſtify. But his Power ſoon became the Object of Envy, and the People enjoying Peace, and having Leiſure to reflect how laviſh they had been of their Favours to him, reſolved to pull him down; this could not be done without an Aſſaſſination; Inſtruments were quickly found, and the ungrateful *Brutus* became Leader of this Faction. The Senate-Houſe was the Place where this mighty Tragedy was acted, many were the Accomplices, when

when *Cæsar* having received three and twenty Wounds, expired. He fell on the fifteenth of *March*, in the fifty sixth Year of his Age, having only survived his Rival four, and founded the *Roman* Empire in his own Blood; for after his Decease the Commonwealth became an absolute Monarchy, the constant Fate of ill-governed Republicks He triumph'd five several times for *Egypt*, *Pontus*, *Afric*, *Gaul*, and *Spain*, and being declared perpetual Dictator, he rewarded those who had well deserved from his Friendship, and promoted some of his Enemies. He had only the single Failing of Ambition to prove him mortal, yet assuming supreme Authority, was no more than what the Safety of his Person required; for otherwise it would have fallen into *Pompey*'s Hands, and then the Consequence must have proved fatal to *Cæsar*; but the greatest Use he made of Power was to pardon those that offended him: many were the Honours decreed his Memory, and his Name was the Title of eleven succeeding Emperors.

THE Name of *Julius Cæsar* is so illustrious, that nothing can be added to the Commendation of his Works, of what Nature soever they are, after it is said he is the Author of them. So that he is not indebted to his military Actions alone for the high Reputation that follows him, since his learning has no less contributed to it than his Arms; which made *Quintilian* say, that *Cæsar* spoke, writ, and fought with the same Spirit, *Eodem animo dixit quo bellavit*; and that the same happy Genius which favoured all his Victories, animated even his Orations and Writings. He writ like a Man of Quality, and among innumerable Excellencies which he holds in common with other Authors, he possesses this almost peculiar to himself, that

you ſee the Prince and the Gentleman, as well as the Soldier and Scholar in his Memoirs. He had a prodigious Wit, and univerſal Learning, was noble by Birth, a conſummate ſtateſman, a brave and wiſe General, and a moſt heroick Prince. His Prudence and Modeſty in ſpeaking of himſelf, the Truth and Clearneſs of his Deſcriptions, the inimitable Purity and Perſpicuity of his Style, diſtinguiſh him with Advantage from all other Writers. What uſeful and entertaining Accounts might reaſonably be expected from one who gives you the Geography and Hiſtory of thoſe Countries and Nations which he himſelf conquered, and the Deſcriptions of thoſe military Engines, Bridges, and Encampments, which he himſelf contrived and marked out? It is obſervable, that among the Praiſes which the Antients gave to the Orators of that Time, tho' they valued much the Sharpneſs of *Sulpitius*, the Gravity of *Brutus*, the Diligence of *Pollio*, the Judgment of *Calvus*, and the Copiouſneſs of *Cicero*, they admired above all the Vigour of *Cæſar*'s Style, *Vim Cæſaris*, as if the ſame Virtue by which he executed ſo many military Exploits, had inſpired him with that Ardour and Vehemence by which he was always ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of that Age.

IN his moſt tender Age he compoſed *The Praiſe, of* Hercules, and wrote the Tragedy of *Oedipus*, and ſome other Poems under the Title of *Julii*, which *Auguſtus* afterwards forbid to be publiſhed; it is impoſſible to determine what the Poem was, called *Iter* by *Suetonius*; but as for that Epigram which ſome aſcribe to him, and others to *Germanicus*, made upon the young *Thracian* who fell into the River *Hebrus*, it is one of the moſt delicate Pieces

Pieces of all *Latin* Poetry, and I think cannot be tranſlated.

Thrax puer aſtricto Glacie dum ludit in Hebro,
Frigore concretas pondere rupit Aquas.
Dumque imæ partes rapido traherentur ab amne,
Abſcidit heu tenerum lubrica teſta caput.
Orba quod inventum mater dum conderet Urna,
Hoc peperi flammis, cætera, dixit, Aquis.

HIS Fame in Oratory was indiſputable, but his Orations for the *Bithynians*, for the Law *Plautia*, for *Decius* a *Samnite*, for *Sextilius*, and many others are loſt. His two *Anticatones* ſhewed what he could do in Satire, and his two Books of *Analogy* gave him no ſmall Place among the moſt eſteemed Grammarians. He wrote ſome Treatiſes of preſaging by the Flight of Birds, and others of Augury, and ſome of Apothegms, or ſhort and witty Sentences. But what he publiſhed of the Motion of the Stars, which he had learned in *Egypt*, deſerves much more to be conſidered, becauſe it prognoſticated his own Death on the Ides of *March*, (if the elder *Pliny* may be credited:) we muſt not omit the *Ephemerides*, or Journals mentioned by *Servius*, nor the Reformation of the *Kalendar*.

THE Title of thoſe *Commentaries* alone make it manifeſt that *Cæſar* had no Deſign to write a compleat Hiſtory; they are ſo naked, ſays *Cicero*, and ſtript of all thoſe Ornaments of Oration, which he was very capable to give them, that tho' they are extremely agreeable in the Condition they are, they are to be taken for nothing elſe but Notes prepared by him for their Uſe who would compile a Hiſtory of his Time; and tho' Materials ſo well provided might have excited ſome Perſons, raſh enough

enough to attempt any thing, to try their Skill to refine and poliſh them, yet all judicious Men have abſtained from doing it; and others that perhaps endeavoured in it, have found themſelves altogether unable and unlikely to gain to themſelves any Honour, by meddling with a Deſign framed by ſo great an Artificer. Yet *Suetonius* makes *Aſinius Pollio* accuſe him of not having been exact enough, and even to have declined ſometimes from Truth, ſo that as the ſaid *Aſinius* conjectures, he would have reviewed his Commentaries, and corrected them in many Places.

SOME Criticks have maintained, that neither the three Books of the Civil War, nor the ſeven of the War of the *Gauls* were writ by *Cæſar*; but ſuch an Opinion is ſo groundleſs, that it merits not the leaſt Reflection. As for the eighth Book of the laſt mentioned Work, moſt agree that *Hirtius* was the Author of it, who writ alſo the Commentaries of the Wars of *Alexandria*, *Africa*, and *Spain*. Tho' ſome aſcribe them to *Oppius*, an intimate Friend of *Cæſar*'s, who likewiſe wrote a Treatiſe to prove that the Son of *Cleopatra*, which ſhe pretended to have had by the ſame *Cæſar*, was not of his begetting. *Pliny* the Elder, ſpeaking of the wonderful Abilities of this learned *Roman*, obſerves that he ſurpaſſed the whole World in the Vigour of his Mind, that he has been ſeen at the ſame time to read, write, dictate, and hear what was ſaid to him; and adds, that it was common with him to dictate at once to four Secretaries; and when he was not diverted by other Affairs, he uſually employed ſeven to write under him. This Activity of Thought is as if he were ſomething more than human, and indeed the Greatneſs of his Genius would be judged wholly incomparable, ſhould

Cæsar's amazing mental powers.

His son by Cleopatra called Cæsarion.

ſhould we imagine it exactly in the Extent of all his Actions. His Writings have been ſo juſtly eſteemed, that *Selimus* the Great cauſed them to be tranſlated into *Arabick*; and it is believed that the reading of them, which was no leſs agreeable than ordinary with him, contributed much to the Conqueſt of ſo many Provinces, with which he augmented the *Ottoman* Empire. And *Henry* IV. that famous Monarch of *France*, took the pains to tranſlate into *French* what related to the War of the *Gauls*, which doubtleſs was no ſmall Aſſiſtance to that heroic Ardour with which that Prince was ſo eminently inſpired.

XENEPHON, ſays *Rapin*, has a ſoft and delicate Way of writing; his Diſcourſe like a pure and clear Stream, has no Parallel in all the Works of the Antients, except *Cæſar*'s Style, than which nothing was ever writ with greater Purity in *Latin*. I am charmed with his Plainneſs, and can find no Writer that expreſſes himſelf with the ſame Perſpicuity. But *Cæſar*, as plain as he is, has ſomething more noble and lofty in the Plainneſs and Simplicity of his Diſcourſe, than *Tacitus* in all the Pomp and Statelineſs of his Expreſſion. And we meet ſometimes with a Negligence in the Antients, better than all the Accuracy and Exactneſs of the Moderns. *Cæſar*'s Narrative is admirable by its Purity and Eloquence, but it is not lively enough, and wants a little of that Force which he uſed to deſire in *Terence*. One cannot be ſaid to write Hiſtory who barely relates the Actions of Men, without ſpeaking of their Motives; but he is rather like a Gazetteer, who is contented to acquaint us with Matter of Fact, without tracing it to its Spring and Cauſe: Juſt as *Cæſar*, who relates ſimply his Marches and Incampments, without acquainting

Cæsar & Xenophon.

quainting us with the Motives of them. All his Narration is too plain and naked, however it may be ſaid of him, he only writes Memoirs. *Cæſar* has an Extreme intirely oppoſite to *Tacitus*. In him you find but a plain naked Style, without Tropes and Figures, and deſtitute of all manner of Ornament. Nothing is ſo tedious as a Deſcription too nice and minute, which Fault *Cæſar* runs into in his Commentaries: when he deſcribes his warlike Machines, it ſeems as if that great Captain, whoſe Reputation in the military Science is ſo well eſtabliſhed, had alſo a mind to gain that of a good Engineer. There is in that a certain Air of Affectation unworthy of ſo great a Man. In point of Harangues, *Polybius* is more diſcreet than *Demoſthenes*; but *Cæſar* is more cautious ſtill, for he ſeldom makes any of thoſe Speeches, becauſe they do not conſiſt with the Truth of Hiſtory, and chuſes rather to write bare Memoirs, that his Diſcourſe may be more plain. *Cæſar* has been the greateſt Maſter of Expreſſion that ever was. Pedants are in the right when they admire the inimitable Purity of his Style, but I admire more his good Senſe; for never did any Man write with ſo much Diſcretion, and he is perhaps the only Author in whom we find no Impertinence. He ſpeaks of himſelf as an indifferent Perſon, and is ever conſtant in the wiſe Character he has taken upon him.

MARCUS

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.

MARCUS Tullius Cicero was by his Mother *Helvia* deſcended from a Houſe of note, by his Father uncertain, ſome making him a *Fuller*, others of the Family of *Tullius Atticus*, King of the *Volſci*. The Name of *Cicero* coming from the Figure of a *Vetch* on the Noſe of one of his Anceſtors, or of his own, he was perſuaded to change it; but he replied, he would make that Name more glorious than thoſe of the *Scauri* and *Catuli*.

'TIS ſaid his Mother felt no Pain in the Delivery of him, that a Dæmon or Phantaſm appeared to his Nurſe, and foretold her, that the Child at her Breaſt ſhould hereafter be beneficial to his Country. And he ſpeedily gave pregnant Promiſes of the Prediction; for on his Application to his Book, he ſoon excelled all the Boys that were his Schoolfellows, ſo that Men of great Gravity came to the School, to obſerve and admire the Pregnancy of his Wit; capable of all Sciences he chiefly diſcovered a Propenſity to Poetry, publiſhing a Poem when a Boy that is yet extant, and called *Pontius*, or *Potnous Glaucus*. He made an uncommon Progreſs in Rhetoric and Eloquence. The Credit of his Poetry is loſt in the ſuperior Reputation of his Succeſſors in that Art.

HE heard *Philo* in Philoſophy, and applied to *Mutius Scævola* in the State Affairs, and the Knowledge of the Law; but to avoid the Trouble of a factious Time, he retired to his Studies, and a learned but private Converſation, 'till *Sylla* had uſurped the Commonwealth, and Matters found

& Cicero an illustrious orator & lawyer - statesman - philosopher - & patriot - a man of the greatest genius - and of the most varied mental powers that Rome ever produced -

a ſort of Settlement under him. About this Time *Sylla*, by *Chryſogonus* his emancipated Slave, proſecuted *Sextus Roſcius Amerinus*, for Parricide, and when all the elder Patrons or Advocates had refuſed to defend him, *Cicero* undertook the Cauſe, and argued it with that Eloquence and Intrepidity, that *Roſcius* was acquitted.

BUT being ſenſible that the Applauſe he gained by this raiſed *Sylla*'s Hatred, he travelled into *Greece*, and retired to *Athens*, as he pretended for the ſake of his Health. Here he applied himſelf intirely to the Study of Philoſophy, and made ſuch a Progreſs as gained him univerſal Applauſe.

THE News of *Sylla*'s Death, the Recovery of his Health, and the Perſuaſion of a Friend prevailed with him to return to *Rome*, and the Study of Rhetoric as proper to a Stateſman, perpetually exerciſing himſelf in Declamations, and hearing the moſt celebrated Orators of his Time. From *Athens* he therefore went to *Aſia* and *Rhodes*, where he declaimed in *Greek*, at the Deſire of *Apollonius*, ſo admirably, that while all the reſt were tranſported with his Praiſe, *Apollonius* having ſat ſilently a while, anſwered *Cicero*, aſking his Opinion, That he admired and praiſed him, but pitied the Fate of *Greece*, to find Arts and Eloquence, which was all that was left her, raviſhed now from her, and tranſported to *Rome*.

BEING returned to *Rome*, the *Pythian* Oracle, who had declared that he ſhould arrive at Glory, by making his own Judgment the Guide of his Actions, not the Opinion of the People, made him negligent of publick Affairs, and the Concerns of the Bar; but being overcome by the Importunity of his Father and Friends, he at once ſhone out the greateſt Orator of his Time, tho' he was obliged

to *Roſcius* the Comedian, and *Æſopus* the Tragedian for the wellforming of his Action, which afterwards was ſo excellent, that it did not a little contribute to the Perſuaſiveneſs of his Diſcourſes.

BEING Queſtor in *Sicily* (in a great Scarcity of Corn in *Rome*) he relieved the Wants of the City, by obliging all the *Sicilians* to vend all their Stock in *Rome*. Which with the Adminiſtration of his Province with Care, Juſtice, Clemency, and general Satisfaction, made him imagine that he eſtabliſhed an univerſal Character; ſo that meeting an Acquaintance of his in *Campania*, he aſked him what the People ſaid of his Actions in *Rome? Why*, replied the other, *where haſt thou been all this while?* This check'd his Vain-glory, and abated his Luſt of publick Applauſe in ſome meaſure, tho' never extinguiſhed his Love of hearing himſelf praiſed.

HE was ſo induſtrious to obtain the Qualities neceſſary for a Stateſmen, that he not only knew the Names, but the Places of Abode, the Lands and Country Seats that the principal Citizens enjoyed. The *Sicilians* made choice of him for their Advocate againſt *Verres*, whom having caſt and fined, the People of *Sicily* made him great Preſents when he was Ædile, which he turned to the publick, not to his own private Account.

HE had a pleaſant Seat at *Arpinum*, a Farm near *Naples*, and another about *Pompeii*. His Wife *Terentia*'s Portion was twelve Myriads, and his own Fortune nine, on which he lived freely and temperately, rarely ſitting down to Meat till Sunſet. His paternal Seat he gave his Brother, and dwelt himſelf near Mount *Palatine*, for the Convenience of his numerous Clients; not fewer applying to him for his Eloquence, than to *Craſſus*

for his Riches, or *Pompey* for his Intereſt among the Soldiers; that great General paying him a Deference, and owing much of his Authority and Glory to him. He carried the Prætorſhip from all the Candidates that ſtood with him, and diſcharged it with Honour and Applauſe. And when he ſtood for the Conſulſhip, both the Nobility and Commons joined in his Election.

AMONG other Things that he did in his Conſulſhip, the Diſcovery of the Conſpiracy of *Catiline*, and the quaſhing of it by the Puniſhment of the Conſpirators, was the moſt conſiderable, for which he had the Title of *Father of his Country*, and was called the *Saviour and Founder of the City*. For by the Diſappointment of this Plot, he delivered his Country from Deſolation by Fire and Sword, whence he derived great Authority in the State and with the People.

THO' he was ſomething too much given to praiſe himſelf, yet he was far from envying others, being very liberal in commending both the Ancients, and his Contemporaries *Greek* and *Latin*, *Cæſar* being one of the Prætors, and *Metellus* and *Beſtia*, two of the Tribunes, did him all the Indignities they could, by hindering him from ſpeaking his Orations at the Surrender of his Conſulſhip, and would have affronted him more, if *Cato*, one of the Tribunes, had not ſtood by him, and prevented their Attempts. His ſharp Reflections, Rapartees, and Jeſts upon the People, had made him ſome Enemies, but none could hurt him till the Faction of *Clodius* prevailed. *Clodius* had been of *Cicero*'s Party, and very uſeful to him in the Conſpiracy of *Catiline*; but *Terentia*, *Cicero*'s Wife, ſuppoſing that *Clodia* the Siſter of *Clodius* had a mind to marry *Cicero*, prevailed with him to give Evidence againſt him when proſecuted,

ted, for violating the Rites of the *Bona Dea* in *Cæſar*'s Houſe, for the ſake of *Pompeia*, *Cæſar*'s Wife, with whom *Clodius* was in love. He urged ſtrongly in his Defence, that he was out of *Rome*; but *Cicero* proved that he was at his Houſe that very Morning. However, by Bribes *Clodius* comes off, and reſolves to diſcharge all his Rage and Revenge againſt *Cicero*, being choſen Tribune of the People, tho' of the Patrician Order, for he was of a great Family. He bribed the Conſuls, by giving them good Provinces, as *Macedonia* to *Piſo*, and *Syria* to *Gabinius*; and of the three great and powerful Men, *Craſſus* was his Enemy, *Cæſar* was going with his Army into *Gaul*, and *Pompey* indifferently careſſed both; but when *Cicero* had enraged *Cæſar*, by refuſing to go his Lieutenant, as he himſelf had deſired, *Pompey* on his account would neither aſſiſt nor ſee *Cicero*, when he came to his Houſe to apply for his Aſſiſtance.

THUS *Clodius* preferred an Accuſation againſt him, for putting *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* to death illegally, for which *Cicero* put on Mourning and ſupplicated the People; and with him joined almoſt all the Equeſtrian Order, twenty thouſand young Gentlemen appearing for and with him in Mourning; *Clodius* at the Head of a ſcandalous Rabble abuſing him, and throwing Stones at him. The Senate themſelves met to paſs a Decree that the People ſhould put on Mourning, as in a Time of publick Calamity, but were hinder'd by the Conſuls.

AT laſt, by the Advice of his Friends, *Cicero* went out of *Rome*, guarded by them, about Midnight, and paſſed through *Lucania* on foot, deſigning for *Sicily*. *Clodius* no ſooner heard of his Flight, but he publiſhed a Decree of Exile, interdicting

him Fire and Water, and prohibiting any within five hundred Miles of *Rome* to receive him into their Houſes. He paſſed at laſt by Sea to *Dyrrhachium*, and ſo into *Greece*. This factious Tribune having thus driven *Cicero* out of *Italy*, burnt his Villas and City Houſe, building in its place a Temple to *Liberty*, and expoſed his Goods to Sale; and not contented with theſe Outrages, he fell upon *Pompey*, who now repented that he had deſerted *Cicero* ſo ungratefully, and therefore applied his utmoſt Intereſt to have him recalled from Baniſhment. *Annius Milo*, one of the Tribunes, joining with him, they quaſhed *Clodius*, and paſſed a Decree of the Senate and of the People for recalling him, it being the moſt unanimous of any they had ever paſſed. His Villas and Houſe were rebuilt at the publick Charge, and he was reſtored ſixteen Months after he was ſent into Exile.

CICERO after this goes to the Capitol, and deſtroys the Tribunitian Records of the Acts paſſed in the Tribuneſhip of *Clodius*, as being againſt the Law, ſince he was of the Patrician Order. Soon after *Milo* kills *Clodius*, and being to be tried for it, choſe *Cicero* for his Advocate, who being affrighted at the Forum's being ſurrounded with Arms, *Milo* himſelf encouraged him, but He was found guilty, but his appearing ſo confident, and without Mourning, was one of the principal Cauſes of his Condemnation. He Cicero was after this made one of the Augurs, and having *Cilicia* by Lot, he ſailed thither with a competent Force, and governed with Clemency and Moderation, and among other Actions which gained him Applauſe, he drove out the Bands of Robbers who infeſted the Mountain *Amanus*, for which his Soldiers ſaluted him *Imperator*.

Cicero Proconsul of Cilicia

LEAVING

LEAVING his Province, he touched at *Rhodes*, ſtaid a little at *Athens*, ſaw his old Friends, and then returned to *Rome*, where being offered a Triumph, he refuſed it; but things were now all in a Ferment, and coming to an open Rupture; he interpoſed as Mediator between *Pompey* and *Cæſar* as much as there was Room, but the Wounds being incurable, and *Cæſar* approaching *Rome*, after great debate with himſelf which Side to take, he followed *Pompey*, with the Senators and great Men that were with him, *Cæſar* being now gone into *Spain*. He was welcome to all but *Cato*, who adviſed him to remain neuter, and govern himſelf by the Event of Things, for the good of the Commonwealth.

AFTER the Battle of *Pharſalia* (in which *Cicero* for want of Health was not) he returned from *Dyrrhachium* to *Brunduſium*, having very narrowly ſaved his Life from the Swords of young *Pompey* and his Friends, for refuſing to join their Army. *Cato* preſerved him at this time, and ſaw him ſafe out of the Camp. *Cæſar* coming at laſt from *Egypt*, he went out to meet him, received from him all imaginable Honour, and converſed alone with him for many Furlongs. When *Cæſar* had reſolved not to pardon *Ligarius*, he went to hear what *Cicero* could ſay for him; tho' he declared nothing could mollify his Reſentment, yet when he heard him, he dropt his Papers, and vowed that he was vanquiſhed by his Eloquence.

THE Republick being now changed into a Monarchy, *Cicero* applied himſelf wholly to Philoſophy, publiſhing many philoſophical Dialogues, and finding out *Latin* Terms of Art for thoſe of the *Greeks*. He ſpent all his Time at his Villa near *Tuſculum*, ſeldom going to Town, unleſs to pay

his Court to *Cæsar*, whose Honours he was the first that voted for, coining always new Compliments and Praises of his Person and Actions. He had a Design of writing the History of his Country, intermingling the Affairs of *Greece* both real and fabulous, but was prevented by publick or domestick Troubles. *Terentia* had not only neglected him, and never came near him at *Brundusium*, but had not furnished his Daughter with necessary Expences for her Journey to him, had left him an empty House, and ran him very much in debt, for which Considerations he put her off. But *Cicero* not long after married a beautiful young Lady with a great Fortune, which relieved him from the Importunity of his Creditors. This was soon succeeded by the Loss of his Daughter in Childbed, which produced so great a Grief in him, that all his philosophical Friends applied to remove his Sorrow, and administer Comfort to him.

HE was not concerned in the Conspiracy against *Julius Cæsar*, tho' he was so great a Confidant with *Brutus*, his Old Age and timorous Temper deterring them from admitting him into the Secret. After the Assassination, he proposed in the Senate an Act of Oblivion, and that Provinces should be allotted to *Brutus* and *Cassius*; but *Antony* being Consul, and burying *Cæsar*, made such a Speech to the People, and so touched their Compassion, by shewing them the bloody Garments of *Cæsar*, that they mutinied, and ran to the Houses of the Conspirators, who being fled, *Antony* was so elated, as to behave himself as if he had Thoughts of assuming the Government; he was therefore uneasy at *Cicero*, whom he looked upon as a Friend to *Brutus*, and Liberty. He had therefore gone with *Dolabella* to *Syria*, but *Hirtius* and *Pansa* being designed

Cicero divorces Terentia & marries a young wife
Death of Cæsar & Antonys oration.
Cicero = Brutus & Cassius

ſigned Conſuls the next Year, prevailed with him to divert his Journey to *Athens*, where he ſaid he would ſtay till their Conſulates began; but again over-perſuaded by his Friends, he returned to *Rome*, and was ſo received by the People and Senate, that the Ceremonies of his Welcome at the City Gates took up almoſt a whole Day.

OCTAVIUS coming to *Rome* from *Apollonia*, and falling out with *Antony* about Moneys left him by *Julius*, he applied himſelf to *Cicero* upon this Occaſion, who eſpouſed his Cauſe againſt *Antony*, and he inſinuated himſelf ſo far into young *Cæſar*, that he called him *Father*. The Power of *Cicero* being now at the higheſt, he had driven *Antony* out of *Rome*; but *Octavius* ſoon after unites with *Antony* and *Lepidus*, and by a Proſcription he moſt barbarouſly and ungratefully gave up *Cicero* to *Antony*, tho' it is ſaid he contended three Days to preſerve him.

CICERO hears of his Proſcription at his Houſe near *Tuſculum*, his Brother *Quintus* being with him; in their Litters they immediately make for a Country Houſe of *Cicero*'s near the Sea, called *Aſtura*, but Proviſions being ſhort, it was agreed that *Quintus* ſhould go back for Neceſſaries, and *Cicero* go on. *Quintus* a few Days after, betrayed by his Servants, was ſlain; and *Cicero* being carried to *Aſtura*, and finding a Veſſel ready, went immediately on board, and having ſailed as far as *Circium*, he came on ſhore, and travelled a little way towards *Rome*; then he turned back to the Sea, and his Servants carried him to *Capua* by Water; when arriving at his Villa, his Servants reſolved not to ſee him murdered, and for that purpoſe carried him away again in his Litter; but the Aſſaſſines being come, and having broke open

+ Cicero joins Octavius Cæsar his — againſt Antony —

Death of Cicero & his brother — Quintus.

his Doors and miſſed him, no body owned they knew any thing of him, till *Philologus*, the emancipated Slave of *Quintus*, who was educated by *Cicero* in the Liberal Arts and Sciences, told *Herennius* the Centurion, and *Popilius* the Tribune, (whom *Cicero* had defended from an Accuſation of Parricide) that he was gone down the ſhady Road to the Sea. The Tribune watching with the Guard the Place where he was to come out, *Cicero* perceiving him running to the Walks after him, commanded his Servants to ſet down the Litter; ſo looking ſtedfaſtly on the Murderer, all beſides cover'd their Faces, whilſt *Herennius* cut off his Head and Hands, which he carried to *Antony*, who received them with an inſulting Smile, and ordered them to be faſtened over the *Roſtra*, where he had pronounced his *Philippicks* againſt him.

THE Merit and Character of *Cicero* are ſo tranſcendent, that all the learned Men of Antiquity have looked upon him as a Prodigy. This great Orator had the Benefit and Advantage of an excellent Education. His Parents having diſcovered in him a natural Inclination to Study, took extraordinary Care of him; but tho' at thoſe early Years, when other Children are not capable of applying themſelves to any thing, he ſhewed an extreme Deſire to learn, yet his Father thought it moſt adviſeable to keep him back, rather than to puſh him on, at which *Cicero* ſeemed not a little diſſatisfied and impatient, eſpecially when he ſaw ſome of his Companions ſtudy under one *Plotius*, a Maſter then in repute. His Father however was much to be commended in this Reſtraint, well knowing that too early an Application to Study, by endeavouring to ripen the Underſtanding before the

the Seaſon, may weaken Nature, but will never bring her to Perfection.

His Father and beſt Friends were of Opinion that the *Greek* Tongue was the fitteſt for a young Man to begin with, and therefore made him firſt enter upon the Study of that. All the great Men that came to *Rome* between the Time of *M. Scævola*'s Conſulſhip, and the End of *Sylla*'s Dictatorſhip, were his Maſters, as that *Phædrus* he commends ſo much in his Epiſtles, and that *Philo* the Academick, whom he mentions in his Book *De Natura Deorum*: As *Molo*, the *Rhodian*, whoſe Eloquence was very celebrated, and under whom he ſtudied at two ſeveral times; and a certain *Sicilian* called *Diodotus*, a great Geometrician, of whom he learned Logick, and whom he ſpeaks of in his *Tuſculan* Queſtions. Thus at the Age of ſeventeen or eighteen Years, he had run through with incredible Expedition, the almoſt infinite Extent of all the Sciences which might be any way uſeful to him in making himſelf Maſter of Eloquence, which he ſo paſſionately affected.

As ſoon as he had conquer'd the Difficulties of the *Greek* Tongue, he applied himſelf to Poetry, to which he had an early and ſtrong Inclination; at ſeventeen Years of Age, in order to accompliſh himſelf in Geometry, he tranſlated the Poem of *Aratus*, of which we have ſome conſiderable Fragments ſtill left. He tranſlated likewiſe not long after *Plato*'s *Timæus*, and his *Protagoras*, the *Oeconomicks* of *Xenophon*, and ſeveral other Pieces: *Plutarch* tells us, that from his very firſt Years he diſcovered a Genius peculiar for all the Sciences, ſuch as *Plato* requires in the Philoſopher he forms an Idea of, who ought to be, ſays he, a Lover of all kind of Knowledge. 'Twas after this Manner

Cicero

Cicero ſpent his Time till he was twenty-ſix Years of Age, at which Period he began to ſpeak in publick. All the moſt celebrated Lawyers fearing to offend *Sylla*, had refuſed to undertake *Roſcius* his Caſe, who was accuſed of Parricide, the Succeſs of this Action was the firſt Step to his future Glory, but it made too much Noiſe not to be looked upon by *Sylla* with a jealous Eye, and by *Chryſogonus* with meditated Revenge; for this Freedman, who had made himſelf Maſter of him that was Maſter of the Commonwealth, brought upon *Cicero*, by the ill Offices he did him, a Perſecution which ended not till the Dictator's Death.

BEING forced to leave *Rome* to avoid the Storm he ſaw ready to break upon him, he artfully ſpread abroad a Rumour that he did it upon the Advice of his Phyſicians, who told him Travel would contribute to his Health. He retired to *Athens*, where he applied himſelf again to the Study of Eloquence, and received new Inſtructions in that Art from a certain *Syrian* Orator named *Demetrius*. This ardent Deſire after Knowledge put him, in a little while after, upon travelling into *Aſia*, to be there inſtructed by the moſt famous Men in every Science; among whom was *Menippus* of *Caria*, the beſt Orator of his Time, *Æſchylus* of *Cnydia*, *Dionyſius* of *Magneſia*, *Xenocles*, *Poſſidonius*, and ſome others. About the ſame Time he met with *Apollonius Molo* in *Rhodes*, who had formerly been his Maſter in *Italy*. In this Voyage he learnt Aſtronomy, Geometry, the old and new Philoſophy, the Theology of the Heathen Religion, the Cuſtoms of *Athens*, and all the Laws of *Greece*. He ſtudied the Morality of the Stoicks under *Philo* and *Clitomachus*. *Antiochus*, who, in defiance to *Carneades*, oppoſed the new Academicks, inſtructed him in the Opi-

nions

nions of the Antients, and *Zeno* and *Phædrus* taught him thoſe of *Epicurus*, which he has ſince ſo much condemned in his Writings. And at laſt, after the Death of *Sylla*, he returned to *Rome*, with a Mind enriched with all ſorts of Knowledge, and a Body reſtored to perfect Health, by the Exerciſe he had uſed in travelling.

THE Advantage that conſiſts in the Agreeableneſs of an Orator's Perſon, and of his Dreſs, one would imagine to be very inconſiderable, and yet they are certainly of very great Importance. *Cicero* had the Happineſs of a handſome Face, a good Voice, a pleaſing Addreſs, a commanding Preſence, and a genteel Agreeableneſs in all reſpects; *Plutarch* aſſures us, that he was ſo amiable in his tender Years, that the Fathers of thoſe he ſtudied with took a Delight in ſeeing him at School. He was very decent in his Clothes, and very polite in his Dreſs, even to Affectation. He loved Perfumes, and a genteel Table, and as he was very pleaſant in Converſation, he delighted in Entertainments, and was always very agreeable Company with his Friends. His Raillery was fine and delicate, and he managed all his Buſineſs with ſuch an Addreſs, that in the moſt ſerious Conſultations he would frequently mingle ſo much of light Converſation as was enough to refreſh the Mind, without diverting it from what it was intent upon. This is the proper Character of that *Urbanity* of which he gives us the Precepts in his Treatiſe *De Oratore*. And tho' it be ſomewhat difficult at this diſtance to judge of the Wit he there propoſes for our Imitation, in ſeveral Examples of the fine Turn of Words, yet it is certain that he was very good at it himſelf, ſince *Cato*, as grave as he was, and as much a Stoick as he was, after having heard *Cicero* ridicule

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the Morality of the Stoicks, in that Oration of his for his Friend *Muræna*, could not forbear laughing, and saying, *I must needs confess we have a very pleasant Consul.*

CICERO was liberal, and that even to excess, but he took not so much Care in laying out his Money upon Things that made a great Noise in the World. All his Expences were great, and upon noble Accounts, and proceeded more from his Temper and Disposition, than from any politick Design he had in them. He is reckoned to have had eighteen Country Seats, all very magnificent, stately built, and splendidly furnished; indeed he was not Master of so many Houses at once; the chief of them were the *Tusculane*, the *Formian*, that at *Caietta*, that at *Arpinas*, the *Pompeian*, and that he had near *Cumes*. Neither was it so much out of Pride that he affected this Pomp, tho' it must be confessed he was a little vain, as out of a Nobleness of Soul which sought the Esteem of a People that did not in the least disrelish any thing that was sumptuous, so it were supported by Wealth honestly procured.

NEVER was any Person born in a more happy Time for Eloquence than *Cicero*; he came into the World when the *Roman* Empire was in its flourishing State, when all Knowledge was come to its Perfection, and in an Age the most refined and polished that ever was. Nature began with adorning his Body with all those Graces that could make him lovely, and with furnishing his Mind with all those natural Qualities that were proper to render him an extraordinary Person. His Melancholy, which, according to *Aristotle*, is the common Temper of great Wits, had nothing in it that was dull or heavy, and what is very unusual, there

there was never any one ſingle Perſon that was Maſter of ſo much ſolid Reaſon, and had ſo much Vigour and Vivacity at the ſame Time. Thoſe vaſt Stores of Knowledge, and thoſe immenſe Treaſures of Learning with which he had with ſo much Care and Labour repleniſhed his Mind, added Weight and Authority to all he ſpoke, and made him deliver himſelf with all the Solidity that can be imagined.

BUT beſides this Solidity, which includes ſo much Senſe and Prudence, he had a certain Spritelineſs of Wit, a peculiar Grace which gave an Embelliſhment to all he ſaid, ſo that whatever was the Product of his Imagination and Fancy, he gave it a fine Turn, and made it appear in the moſt agreeable Colours. Whatever he treated of, whether it were the moſt abſtruſe Queſtions of *Dialect*, the moſt barren Parts of natural Philoſophy, or the moſt perplexed intricate Caſes of the Law, whatever came within the Compaſs of his Diſcourſe, tho' never ſo entangled, did ſtill ſhare of that Gaity of Spirit, and of thoſe Graces that were ſo natural to him. Never any one had the Talent of writing ſo judiciouſly, and ſo agreeably at the ſame time; never any one yet had the Art of mixing ſo much good Senſe, and ſo much good Wit together.

AFTER all, the principal Perfection of his Eloquence was his admirable Talent of affecting the Heart upon pathetick Subjects, by that wonderful Art of moving the Paſſions, the Ground and Foundation of which he had from Nature, and which he ſo well improved by a conſtant Study of *Ariſtotle*'s Rhetorick. *Cicero* was Maſter of this commanding Eloquence in ſo eminent a Degree, that in Caſes of Importance, when ſeveral Orators

Cicero powerful in the Pathetic
and moving the passions
& touching the Heart

were to plead, he had always thoſe Parts aſſigned him in which he might be moſt pathetical, becauſe he had greater Succeſs in that Kind than all others of his Profeſſion. It was his ſovereign Perfection to be moving, and to make Impreſſions upon the Minds of his Judges by the Turns of his Eloquence. And in this he had that wonderful Succeſs, that ſometimes he would force Sighs and Tears from all that ſtood round the Bar. Theſe ſtrange Effects proceeded from a ſingular Art he had of working and inſinuating himſelf into the Heart through the Mind, where by the Force of his Reaſonings he was able to ſow thoſe Seeds, from whence thoſe ardent Motions ſprang which he made uſe of to ſhake the Reſolutions of all that heard him.

THAT he arrived to this Height of Perfection is principally owing to the Qualities of his natural Temper and Diſpoſition; for he had a very tender Soul, and a ſoft paſſionate Air. The Graces of his Delivery and Pronunciation gave him a very eaſy Admittance into the Hearts of his Audience, who finding themſelves ſurprized by ſo many Charms, had not the Power to make Reſiſtance. But to all theſe natural Beauties, he likewiſe added an infinite Number of artificial ones, which he diſplayed throughout his whole Diſcourſe by an Eloquence embelliſhed with all the Figures and Ornaments of Speech. And yet his Metaphors are neither too dazling, nor too hard; his Diſcourſes run eaſy and natural, neither forced nor far fetched, his Figures are ranged and diſpoſed in their proper Places. His Thoughts are great, and it is hard to determine whether he was more happy in chuſing than expreſſing them.

IT would be impoſſible in this Deſign to tranſcribe the Opinions of all the Men of Learning upon

on the Eloquence and Character of this admirable Orator. *Julius Cæsar*, as *Quintilian* relates, says that *Cicero* triumphed oftner by virtue of his Eloquence, than all the reſt of the *Romans* by their Arms. *Auguſtus* in *Plutarch* declares he was a moſt accompliſhed Orator; *Hortenſius* teſtifies, that he was wonderfully qualified to move the Hearts of his Audience. His Eloquence, ſays *Auſidius Baſſus*, was ſo extraordinary, that he ſeemed born for the Safety and Preſervation of the Commonwealth. *Titus Livius*, in a Fragment of his which we find in *Seneca*'s Declamations, ſays, that never any Perſon had gained ſo much Admiration by his Eloquence as *Cicero*, that he was happy in his Works, and in the Recompence and the Reward of them; *Paterculus*, that no one could be a Maſter of Eloquence in Perfection but he that had been converſant with *Cicero*; *Pliny* the Hiſtorian, that no Mortal can be compared to him; *Quintilian* among many other Commendations of his with which his Books are full, declares, that this great Man was a Gift from Heaven, in whom Eloquence took a Delight to diſplay all its Power, and to unfold all its Riches, and that it was a Shame not to yield when he perſuaded. I mention not that famous Epigram which *Catullus* made in praiſe of *Cicero*'s Eloquence, nor what *Juvenal* ſays in commendation of him in his eighth Satire, *Martial* in the third and fifth Book of his Epigrams, *Cornelius Severus* in his Poems, *Pliny* the younger in his Epiſtles, St. *Jerom* in his Epiſtles to *Nepotian*, and in many other Places of his Works. I ſhall paſs over in ſilence the Elogies of *Aurelius Victor*, *Caſſiodorus*, and an infinite Number of others, who have done themſelves immortal Honour by the Praiſes

See the beautiful Eulogy on Cicero - by Paterculus -

See Dio Cassius on Cicero - ww.

they have beſtowed upon this great and wonderful Man.

CORNELIUS NEPOS.

CORNELIUS NEPOS has had the good fortune to pleaſe the moſt judicious Critics of all Ages; but in this is ſtrangely unhappy, that having been ſo induſtrious in immortalizing other Men, and having wrote a particular Volume of the Lives of Hiſtorians, he himſelf has been almoſt forgotten; and we have very little left us concerning him. And to add to the Misfortune, his excellent Treatiſe of *the Lives of Illuſtrious Men*; which is the only one left us of his numerous Writings, has by ſome very ill Judges been attributed to an obſcure Perſon, one *Æmilius Probus*, who lived in the barbarous Age of *Theodoſius*.

HE flouriſhed before and after *Cæſar*'s Dictatorſhip. *Jerom* places him in the fourth Year of *Auguſtus*. He was born in *Hoſtilia*, a Village depending upon *Verona*, whereof *Pliny* and *Antonine* in his Itinerary make mention; and is at this day ſubject to the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction of *Verona*. This City lies near the *Po*, upon which account *Pliny* calls our Author *Padi Accola*. It is ſituated likewiſe in that Part of *Italy*, which the *Romans* (for with us it is otherwiſe) called *Italia Tranſpadana*, that Part of *Italy* which is on the other ſide the *Po*; ſo that *Catullus*, in his Dedication of his excellent Poems to *Cornelius Nepos*, might very juſtly call him an *Italian*. But becauſe the ſame Country was called *Gallia Togata*, (or that Part of *Gaul* wherein *Gowns* were worn, in oppoſition to *Gallia Braccata*, ſo named from the Garments of the barbarous Inhabitants;) *Auſonius*, alluding

alluding to *Catullus*'s fore-mentioned Epigram, tells his *Pacutus*, That he had found a more learned and obliging Patron, than *Gaul* furniſhed *Catullus* with; but theſe two Poets may be eaſily reconciled, conſidering that the ſame Place was, with different reſpects, reckoned Part both of *Gaul* and *Italy*. Now, that *Nepos* was a *Veroneſe* was the conſtant Opinion of that City, where, in the Senate-Houſe, his Statue was erected among thoſe of the illuſtrious Men born there. *Verona* has indeed produced as great Wits and as learned Men in all Faculties, as any City, perhaps, in the World. Here were born the two *Plinys*, *Macer* the Botanic Poet, *Vitruvius* the Architect; and in later times that Prodigy of Wit and Learning *Hieronymus Fracaſtorius*, the beſt Phyſician, Mathematician and Poet of his Age. & the Scaligers?

As *Nepos* was born in a Place famous for polite Learning, ſo likewiſe in an Age when Wit and Elegance of Style were advanced to their utmoſt Perfection; in that Age which the Critics call the *Golden Age of Eloquence*. Now to be conſiderable in ſuch a Time as this, to be infinitely eſteemed and careſſed by the greateſt Perſons in it, is an infallible Argument of the real Excellence of an Author. *Gellius* ſtyles him *Cicero*'s Friend, and Familiar; and there was a conſtant Intercourſe of Letters between them. *Catullus*, the moſt accurate and delicate Epigrammatiſt that ever writ, dedicated his Poems to him. *Suetonius*, in his Life of *Julius Cæſar*, takes notice of a Letter from *Cicero* to *Nepos*; and *Lactantius* quotes an Epiſtle of *Nepos* to *Tully*: Nay, their Epiſtolary Commerce was ſo great, that *Macrobius* makes mention of the ſecond Book of Epiſtles from *Tully* to *Nepos*. His Intimacy with *Atticus*, is evident from the Life of *Atticus*, annexed to his Lives of excellent

Generals; for *Atticus* himſelf was ſo far from being one, that he never engaged in the War either for *Cæſar* or *Pompey*, and yet had the good Fortune (which I believe very few of that Humour ever met with) to be honoured, eſteemed and unmoleſted, through the whole Courſe of his Life.

HE left many learned and curious Works behind him, which the Injury of Time hath deprived us of; and we have only juſt enough left us to ſee the Greatneſs of our Loſs in the reſt. He was Author of a Book which he called his *Chronicle*, wherein (in three diſtinct Volumes) he gave an Account of thoſe three great Intervals of Time, which Hiſtorians ſo much talk of, The *Obſcure* and *Uncertain*, the *Fabulous*, and the *Hiſtorical* Ages of the World. As to the firſt and ſecond, *Tertullian* informs us, that *Nepos* affirms, there never was any *Saturn* but what was a Man; and *Auſonius* tells his Pupil the Emperor, that he ſent him *Titianus*'s Fables and *Nepos*'s Chronicles, which were not much unlike them. And *Catullus*, in his Preface to his Poems, tells us, that *Nepos* did *Omne Ævum* tribus *explicare Chartis*.

BESIDES this great Work, he writ the Lives of illuſtrious Men; of which twenty-two, which reſpect the *Grecians* and *Barbarians*, are tranſmitted to us; and likewiſe the Lives of the *Roman* Heroes (as is evident from his Life of *Hannibal*) and the *Roman* Kings. But what through the Invaſion of foreign Nations, and the Ignorance and Careleſſneſs of ſuperſtitious Monks, who let them lie and rot unobſerved in their Libraries, we have only their Titles from other Authors which have had the good fortune to ſurvive. *Æmilius Probus* hath, by ſome Criticks, been ſuppoſed to be the Author of the Lives of Foreign Generals; but 'tis

a palpable Miſtake, occaſioned by an Epigram prefixed to ſome ancient Manuſcripts of this Author; wherein *Probus* commands his Book, if the Emperor *Theodoſius* enquire after the Author, to tell him it is one *Probus*; but then it follows, *Corpore in hoc manus eſt Genetricis Avique meique*; that is, his own Hand, his Mother's and Grandfather's were concerned in this Work: Whence 'tis clear, beyond contradiction, that this *Probus* was only a Tranſcriber. Beſides, what Man of common Learning and Senſe can perſuade himſelf, that this wretched Poet could be the Author of this moſt delicate and judicious Piece of Hiſtory? The Cleanneſs and Terſeneſs of the Expreſſion undeniably prove, that the Author of this Book lived in the Age of *Julius* and *Auguſtus*; and beſides all this, there are forty Places in the Lives themſelves, that prove *Nepos* was their Author, and lived in the Age aforeſaid; for which, if you pleaſe, conſult *Lambin*.

But *Nepos* hath not been more abuſed by aſcribing his Works to other Men, than in making him the Author of ſome Pieces wholly unworthy of him. The Book of *eminent Romans*, is falſely aſcribed to him; it is altogether *Aurelius Victor*'s. Many things, I doubt not, were taken out of *Nepos* by *Victor*. Nor was *Dares Phrygius* tranſlated from the *Greek* by *Nepos*. The Spuriouſneſs of this Author, is viſible to any one who has any Judgment in Learning. The Diction is not *Auguſtan*, but of a much more modern Date. *Nepos*, in the Judgment of ſome Men, lived after the *Nativity*; but, if it be conſidered how celebrated he was for his Learning in the Days of *Catullus*, *Cicero* and *Atticus*, there will be no great reaſon to fall in with this Opinion.

CORNELIUS

CORNELIUS NEPOS lived in an Age that had the greateſt Taſte of good Senſe of any poſſibly ſince the Creation. Eloquence did not then conſiſt in the gaudy trimming of Metaphors, or the forced Acuteneſs of a ſhort cut Period; but good Senſe naturally and cleanly expreſſed, was the Language *Auguſtus* and his Court incouraged. Our Author cannot indeed pretend to the Politeneſs of *Cicero*, but yet he has nothing but what is manly and ſtrong; and there runs through his Writings a genteel Vein of ſpeaking unaffectedly, which declares him a Man remov'd above the Pedant or *Plebeian*. It muſt be confeſt, he is now and then rough in the Period, and negligent in the Expreſſion, but the judicious *Quintilian* allows this to be ſometimes a Beauty; and 'tis the Opinion of moſt Critics, that if there be any fault in *Tully* himſelf, 'tis that he is too ſet and formal in his Style. There are ſome Faces that are very exact in the Symmetry of their Parts and the Mixture of Colour, and yet they are not pleaſing; while on the other hand there are others in which Nature ſeems to have made agreeable Miſtakes. Eloquence is only the Beauty of Language, in which a too formal Obſervance of Exactneſs is diſguſtful. There is as much difference between the genteel Practice of Rhetorick and the heavy Regularity that ariſes purely from the Attendance upon its Rules, as there is between the genteel Addreſs of a Gentleman and the fulſome Compliment of a Schoolmaſter. Such is the Style of *Cornelius Nepos*, which has fixed him in the favour of the beſt Judges.

TITUS,

TITUS LIVIUS.

POSTERITY has been left much in the dark, as to the Particulars of *Livy*'s Life; whether he was of a ſtudious Conſtitution, and deſtined to live retired in Silence and Obſcurity: certain it is, we know very little of his Origin, his Employment, his Adventures, or the Condition of his Life in general. Only thus much, that he was of *Padua*; contrary to *Sigonius*'s Opinion, who would have him born near that Town called *Apona*, producing for this the pretended Teſtimony of *Martial* in one of his Epigrams. 'Tis plain too, he was of an honourable Family, ſince it had the honour of ſending out Conſuls to the *Roman* Commonwealth. That he lived under the Empire of *Auguſtus*; that he dedicated ſome Dialogues to him, upon the Queſtions debated in thoſe times relating to Philoſophy, whereby he got into that Emperor's Acquaintance and good Opinion; that he after wrote a Treatiſe of Eloquence to his Son, which *Quintilian* made great account of; that he began his Hiſtory at *Rome* for the Convenience of ſuch Memorials as were neceſſary, which were recorded in the Annals in the Capitol, and for the better diſtinguiſhing Truth from fabulous Traditions, wherewith the Originals of the City of *Rome* abounded; that he retired ſome time after to *Naples*, to avoid Diſturbance in his Study; that he recited to *Auguſtus* and *Mecænas* ſome Parts of his Hiſtory, whereby they were ſenſibly affected; that *Auguſtus*, upon the Eſteem he conceived of him, made choice of him for a Tutor to form the Mind of his

his young Son *Claudius*, who was afterwards Emperor.

AFTER the Death of *Auguſtus* he returned to *Padua*, where the Citizens received him with extraordinary Honours. He died in the fourth Year of the Reign of *Tiberius*, and the very Day of the Calends of *January*, which was the laſt of *Ovid*'s Life, according to the Obſervation of *Euſebius* in his Chronicles. His Abode at *Rome*, and the Favour of *Auguſtus*, gave him opportunity of furniſhing himſelf with Knowledge neceſſary to his Deſign. The Zeal for his Undertaking, which was great and extraordinary, no leſs than an univerſal Hiſtory of the *Roman* Empire, ſo fixed him to his Cloſet, and gave him ſo little Diſquiets for the Concernments of his Fortune, that his Life thereby became ſomewhat obſcure; ſince he was obliged to ſequeſter himſelf from a more publick Converſation, and live private, that he might give himſelf wholly up to the grand Work he had in hand. He muſt needs have had a Soul prodigiouſly great, to form the Project of ſo vaſt and laborious an Enterprize; for whatever Genius a Man has, 'tis only a Greatneſs of Spirit can produce thoſe exalted and generous Sentiments that make the Beauty and Excellency of a noble Work.

LIVY was certainly one of the worthieſt Men of all Antiquity; you would conclude from his Air of ſpeaking, that he knew not what Vanity was. He has not only never ſpoken of himſelf, nor any thing that belongs to him in his Hiſtory; but likewiſe we had been ignorant in what time he wrote, had it not been for a Word that by chance eſcaped him, concerning the Temple of *Janus*, which was *now* ſhut, ſays he, by *Auguſtus*, having been ſo but once before ſince the Reign of *Numa*.

Numa. He began his Hiſtory in a Strain of Modeſty, which ſeems to me ſo admirable, that I cannot believe a diſcreeter Author ever appeared in the World. See the Scope of that Hiſtory, which has been the moſt abſolute Maſter-piece of Antiquity, and the Admiration of all Ages: "I am "uncertain, whether the Hiſtory I write of the "Actions of the *Roman* People ſince the Founda-"tion of *Rome*, will be a Work worth any Con-"ſideration; and tho' I were perſuaded of it, I "durſt not ſay it, for it is a matter, *&c.* The reſt of the *Exordium*, which I offer not to copy, ſince 'tis in the hands of all Men, is anſwerable to the Beginning, and is ſufficient to ſhew the Spirit of the Author.

HIS Sincerity likewiſe underwent the ſevereſt Trial that poſſibly could be without being corrupted. The Reputation he was in with *Auguſtus*, and that Favour to which he had advanced him, were not Motives ſufficient to hinder his ſpeaking honourably, not only of *Pompey*, but alſo of *Caſſius* and *Brutus*, the greateſt Enemies of that Emperor; honouring the Memory of the Conquered in the face, as one may ſay, of the Conqueror; and recommending to the World, as honeſt Men, the Murderers of *Cæſar* in the Preſence of *Auguſtus*, becauſe they were Lovers of their own Country. 'Tis this which *Cremutius Cordus* thought impoſſible to be ſufficiently praiſed in *Livy*, as we are aſſured by *Tacitus*. Such was *Livy* for his moral Accompliſhments, and what reſpects his Perſon; and it ſeems that ſomething had been wanting to the Glory, or rather the Good-fortune of a People that was Maſter of the World, had they failed of ſo great a Man for their Hiſtorian. 'Tis that which doubtleſs occaſioned that famous Inſcription

ſcription found at *Padua*, in the Year One Thouſand Four Hundred and Thirteen, in the Church of St. *Juſtina*. *Oſſa* Titi Livii Patavini, *omnium Mortalium Judicio digni, ejus propé invicto Calamo, invicti Populi Romani res geſtæ conſcriberentur.*

THE *Roman* Hiſtory of *Livy* was publiſhed when *Auguſtus* was living, and is ſuppoſed to have employed the Hiſtorian twenty Years or more, in making it compleat. The original Number of Books were an hundred and forty-two. There are only thirty-five left. The Epitomies of this Hiſtory, from which we learn the Number of the original Books, are extant, except the Epitomy of the hundred and thirty-ſixth and the hundred and thirty-ſeventh Book. It has been thought, theſe Epitomies have contributed much to the Loſs of the Originals. *Glareanus*, and others, have divided the Originals into fourteen *Decades*; that is, one hundred and forty Books. The firſt *Decade*, ſays *Glareanus*, treats of the Affairs of four hundred and ſixty Years. The ſecond *Decade* is loſt: The Years of this *Decade* are ſeventy-five. The third *Decade* contains the ſecond *Punick* War under *Hannibal*, including eighteen Years. The fourth *Decade* contains the *Macedonian* War againſt *Philip*, and the *Aſiatick* War againſt *Antiochus*: which takes up the Space of about twenty-three Years. The firſt five Books of the fifth *Decade* were found at *Worms*, in the Year fourteen Hundred and Thirty-one. Theſe are all the Books left of *Livy*'s Hiſtory. The thirty-third Book was found at *Mentz*, but defective in the Beginning; as appears from the Epitomy, and what follows in *Livy*. The five Books of the fifth *Decade* are very defective. *Eraſmus* tells us, the Archetype was written in ſuch a continued Series of Letters as the

the Ancients uſed to write in, that it required a learned, attentive and ſkilful Perſon to ſeparate the Words from each other; and he obſerves this half *Decade* is certainly *Livy*'s, from the Diction and Epitomies to which it exactly anſwers.

PETRUS CRINITUS will not allow *Livy*'s Hiſtory was divided by *Livy* into ſo many *Decades*, ſince nothing of this can be gathered from the Ancients. *Priſcian* and other Grammarians in their Quotations of *Livy*, mention the Books, but ſay nothing of the Decades. Nor does the Number of the Books agree with the Diviſion; for fourteen Decades make but one hundred and forty Books, whereas *Petrarch* aſſerts, *Livy* wrote one hundred and forty-two. *Cœlius Rhodiginus*, and other Men of Learning, admit of the Decades; becauſe there is a Preface prefixed to every Decade. The third Decade is reckoned the moſt excellent of all the Hiſtory, which gives us an account of a very long and ſharp War, in which the *Romans* gained ſo many Advantages that no Arms could afterwards withſtand them. The firſt Book of this Decade is taken almoſt word for word from *Polybius*, and mentions many things in the Hiſtory of this War with *Hannibal*, which are ſuſpected as not mentioned by *Polybius*, who gives us a better account than *Livy* of the *Roman* military Affairs. In the firſt Book of the *Macedonian* War he is much more exact than *Livy*, in ſpecifying the Names of the Perſons who acted; in giving us a particular Account of the Siege of *Abydos*; and in all the Series of this Hiſtory 'tis evident, *Livy* has tranſlated many Paſſages word for word from *Polybius*. The Beginning of this Hiſtory is too general. From the Taking of *Troy* to the Building of *Lavinium*, are reckoned two Years; from the

Building of *Lavinium* to *Longa*, thirty Years; from *Longa* to *Rome*, four hundred Years; from the Building of *Rome* to the Conſuls, two hundred and forty-four Years: So that from the Taking of *Troy* to the Beginning of the Conſuls, which is the Subject of *Livy*'s firſt Book, are ſix hundred and ſeventy ſix Years. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* has learnedly and accurately diſcuſſed this Period in four Books. It was not therefore *Livy*'s Deſign to give us a particular Explication of the moſt ancient *Roman* Tranſactions, which many Hiſtorians had done long before, but rather to relate what was tranſacted by the *Romans* a little before the ſecond *Punic* War, to his own Times; and, leſt his Hiſtory ſhould be incompleat in the Beginning, he very conciſely treats of the *Roman* Affairs in the firſt twenty Books; from the Foundation of *Rome*, to the ſecond *Punic* War. *Dionyſius*, who purpoſed to write the Antiquities of *Rome*, has omitted nothing he thought deſerved a Relation: He has not only preſented us with the Facts, but their ſtated Times; and what *Livy* has ſcarce comprehended in three Books, he has delivered in eleven. As to *Livy*'s Facts, which are ſuſpected, it is thought they are taken from *Fabius Pictor*, an old Hiſtoriographer. This Account includes the moſt material Circumſtances that relate to the Hiſtory of this noble Writer.

PERHAPS never Man came furniſhed with better Parts, or thoſe more improved, to the Writing of a Hiſtory, than *Livy*. He was formed in a City at that time the Empreſs of the World, in which all the moſt important Affairs of the Univerſe were decided, and in the politeſt Reign that ever was; having had ſcarce any other School than the Court of *Auguſtus*. There it was he learned

learned the Language of the genteeleſt Part of Mankind; and that lively, fine, ſubtile and natural Air then in faſhion, that exquiſite Taſte, that Purity and Nobleneſs of Expreſſion, which was the Character of that Age, and of which there were ſo great Models in all ſort of Writings, perfecting and poliſhing himſelf upon them. Thence it was he took that Softneſs neceſſary to pleaſe, and that Force which renders him moving; wherein peculiarly conſiſts his eſſential Character. For never Man united all the Grace and Beauty with all the Vehemence of Diſcourſe, ſo much as he; ſo much does the Sweetneſs of Beauty temper the maſculine Force and Energy of what he ſays, that there falls not any thing from his Pen too ſtrong, but is ſoftened with a Term more nice and delicate.

THE Nobleneſs of *Livy*'s Expreſſion raviſhes a Man's Soul into Extaſy; 'tis about two thouſand Years ſince that Hiſtorian commands a reſpectful Attention from all Nations, by his awful and majeſtick way of Speaking, which has been the Admiration of all Ages. To ſpeak the Truth, nothing ſatisfies my Mind ſo well, as his admirable Choice of Words, always proportioned to his Sentiments, and his excellent manner of expreſſing the Sentiments, always conformable to the Things he ſpeaks of. In ſhort, he has hit the beſt of any Man upon that ſort of Style, which *Cicero* adviſes to Hiſtorians; and it is (ſays *Rapin*) by that great Pattern that *Buchanan*, *Mariana*, *Paulus Æmilius*, *Paulus Jovius* (and all thoſe that have outlived the Times they flouriſhed in) have formed their Method of writing Hiſtory. *Livy* has a moſt engaging way of telling a Story, which is his admirable Skill of mixing little things with

Livy - the Prince of Historians

great ones; becauſe great Events by themſelves are tireſome and fatiguing, whereas ſmall Adventures are pleaſant, and unbend the Mind. According to the ſame Scheme he varies the Tranſactions he relates, makes ſad Occurrences ſucceed thoſe that are pleaſant, and mixes very diſcreetly the Shining with the Dark, that he may keep up the Reader's Attention by that agreeable Variety.

THIS Writer had a natural Felicity for all things Fine and Great, wherein he had a Palate extraordinary delicate. He had an admirable Genius for Eloquence in general, that is, for the Purity of Diſcourſe, for a Fineneſs of Speech, for the Dignity of Expreſſion, and a certain Elevation of Soul, that made him moſt fortunate in his Imagination. He was, to complete theſe Qualifications, choice in his Words, juſt in the Order of his Diſcourſe, great in his Sentiments, lofty and proportionate in the Diſpoſition, and the univerſal Œconomy of his Deſign. He was, in ſhort, Maſter of all the Rhetorick of Hiſtory; for Hiſtory has a peculiar Rhetorick of its own, and this Rhetorick has its Rules. *Quintilian* ſays, his Style is ſweet and fluent, that it has a greater tendency to Solidity, than Flaſh and Luſtre, and is moſt pleaſing to thoſe who had rather be affected, than dazled and amazed. His Air is Great and Noble in its Simplicity, and he has a Softneſs of Expreſſion, ever ſupported with much Force and Majeſty. His Diſcourſe is animated in ſo lively a manner, as ſuffers nothing to droop or languiſh. And the Turn, the Cadency, the Grace he gives to all he ſays, the Juſtneſs of his Words, the Clearneſs of his Senſe, every thing he has is admirable. Perhaps there was never Hiſtorian more engaging by the Talent he had of expreſſing Nature to the Life,

Life, and giving her a different Face as became her ſeveral Conditions, painting her always in her proper Colours, making every Paſſion ſpeak its genuine Language, that it might have its full Effect upon the Mind. Hence it is he is ſo incomparable at painting the Manners, that his Portraitures are ſo like, that he expreſſes every thing in the Features that become it, never confounding thoſe Beauties which Nature has diſtinguiſhed.

He eminently exceeds the reſt of Hiſtorians in the perfect Knowledge he has of all Decorums, which is a Science indiſpenſably neceſſary to a Man that will write Hiſtory, ſince nothing carries a Face of Truth, but from an exact Obſervation of what is agreeable to each Particular. See how he diſtinguiſhes the different Ages of the Commonwealth, by the Difference of Spirit and Manners that reign'd in it. 'Tis by this Principle *Hannibal* and *Scipio* preſerve their Characters ſo well in this Author, where nothing is touch'd in the ſame Manner, or wrote in the ſame Tenour. From hence it is that *Rome* could ſpeak otherways under Kings and Tribunes, than in the Reigns of the laſt Conſuls and Emperors; that every one in that Hiſtory ſtands marked in a diſtinguiſhing Character. His Diſcourſe has Authority when it inſtructs, it has Sweetneſs and Condeſcenſion when it perſuades, Neatneſs when it relates, is Graceful and Elegant when it would pleaſe; is Fervent, Moving and Pathetical, when it would affect; He is Moral and Inſtructive where it is required, giving Leſſons to the whole World, and at the ſame time ſeeming to do nothing leſs.

The Length of his Period, which many are apt to reproach him with, is in my Judgment one of his greateſt Advantages; 'tis this only that

makes him Majeſtical; for a long and ample Style never wants Majeſty, when it is, like his, bore up with good Senſe, and in an exquiſite Choice of Words. After all, the World has never been able to diſcern his Method; he has a ſecret Art, couched under a ſeeming Plainneſs and Simplicity, which makes him appear Natural throughout his Work. He is particularly ſure to practiſe that Art, in that which ſeems to have its dependance moſt on Nature, carefully ſhunning all manner of Affectation, and ſtudying always to be ſimple. 'Tis by this ſtately and familiar Way together, which is the moſt uſual Ornament of his Diſcourſe, that he ſtrikes the Soul with thoſe wonderful Impreſſions, that he ſhakes and agitates it as he pleaſes, that his Sentiments break in upon you through the Force of his Words (the Strength of which he very well underſtood) and that he always moves thoſe whom he is ſpeaking to, by the natural Energy of his Expreſſion. This Quality renders him as vehement in his great Paſſions, as ſoft and agreeable in the leſs, giving the former a more active and lively Mien, and ſmoothing over the latter with a gentle and tender Touch. Indeed the Genius he had for the Nobleneſs of Expreſſion, and the Art he had to manage it ſo dextrouſly, and employ it upon occaſion, accuſtom'd him to raiſe himſelf upon any great Event. 'Twas here he took a ſort of Pride to ſet forth, as one may ſay, and ſhew the moſt rare and conceal'd Riches of his Soul in their full Capacity. What Drafts, what Paintings does he then give you, when the Greatneſs of his Theme at once excites him, and furniſhes him with thoſe admirable Opportunities he knew how to make the beſt of? And it is in thoſe favourable and naturally lofty Topicks, that he raiſes and ennobles

his

his Diſcourſe by thoſe great Ideas, with which his excellent Genius for the ſublime and majeſtick Style inſpires him, which is his very Character. 'Tis, in fine, by the natural and proper Choice of Words, the moſt in uſe, but the moſt glittering and harmonious, which add a Luſtre to all the other Beauties of Diſcourſe; he excites in the Mind of his Readers an Admiration mingled with Surprize, which is quite another thing than the Pleaſure that ariſes from Perſuaſion only.

THE Encomiums beſtow'd upon *Livy* are almoſt infinite and incredible; *Ludovicus Vives* recommends this Character of him: Variety has not render'd *Livy* confuſed, nor the Simplicity of his Hiſtory nauſeous, in little and low Matters which often happen, he is not without Blood, dry and jejune, and in Plenty and Greatneſs he is not turgid and vaſt, being full without ſwelling, equal and ſoft, on this ſide Effeminacy, neither luxuriouſly flowing, nor horridly barren; in plain things he is not unpleaſant nor languid, in ſoft things he does not riſe in a violent and forced Oratory; yet he is not ſo copious as to be troubleſome, nor laſcivious in his Pleaſantry, nor ſo light as to be careleſs. He is not ſo ſevere as to be rude, nor ſo ſimple as to be naked, nor ſo dreſſed as to ſeem by an affected Compoſition to be curl'd with hot Irons; his Words are equal to his Matter, and his Sentences to his Subjects; he is grave and magnificent in his Account of Actions, and yet ſhort and proper; in Narrations he is natural, and always circumſpect, never confounding the Order, nor forerunning the Event; he is no Seeker of Favour by Flattery, or ſparing in his Reprehenſions in expectation of a Pardon, nor yet bitter to an Offence; he never ſpares the Senate, that great and venerable

venerable Moderator of the World, nor the *Roman* People, the Princeſs of the Earth, if precipitated by Raſhneſs, or deceived by Error, or by any other Means, whenſoever they happen to tranſgreſs the Bounds of Moderation and Juſtice.

I ſhall end with obſerving that *Livy* had never travelled much, or been employed in military Affairs; yet what he might want in Experience, was happily ſupplied by wonderful Parts and Eloquence, by ſevere Study, and unwearied Endeavours after Knowledge and Information; ſo that he deſcribes all the Countries, Towns, Seas, and Ports, whither the *Roman* Legions and Navies came, with near the ſame Accuracy and Perfection (if poſſible) which he could any Place in *Italy*, lays a Siege, draws up an Army with Skill and Conduct ſcarce inferiour to *Cæſar* himſelf. Was there as much Charm in the Converſation of this extraordinary Man, as there is in his Writings, the Gentleman of *Cales* would not repent of his long Journey, who came from thence only to ſee *Livy* upon the Fame of his incomparable Eloquence, and other celebrated Abilities; and we have reaſon to believe he received Satisfaction, becauſe after he had ſeen *Livy* and converſed with him, he had no Curioſity to ſee *Rome*, to which he was ſo near, and which at that time was, for its Magnificence and Glory, one of the greateſt Wonders of the whole Earth. Nor leſs was the Veneration paid to the Memory of this immortal Writer by *Alphonſo* King of *Arragon*, above two hundred Years ſince. That Prince ſent his Embaſſador to the Citizens of *Padua*, and obtained a Bone of that Arm with which *Livy* had writ his Hiſtory; he cauſed it to be removed to *Naples* with the greateſt Marks of Honour, as the moſt ineſtimable Preſent; and

and it is said that he recover'd his Health from a languishing Indisposition, by the Delight he took in reading that immortal History.

But though Antiquity has ever paid so great a Deference to the Merit of this Great Man, and recommended him to us as the perfectest and most compleat Model of all others; yet nothing it seems is so absolute and accomplished, but Malice and Ill-nature will distinguish as Matter of Blame and Censure. In the Age wherein he lived, *Asinius Pollio* arraign'd his Style, and called it *Patavinity*. What he meant by it has given Occasion for the Niceties and different Conjectures of the Criticks. *Pignorius* conceives, it respects only the Orthography of certain Words in which *Livy* used one Letter for another, after the Custom of his Country, writing *sibe*, and *quase*, for *sibi* and *quasi*, which he proves by many ancient Inscriptions: But the most received Opinion is, that this *Roman* Lord, being used to the Delicacy of the Language spoken in the Court of *Augustus*, could not bear with certain Provincial Idioms which *Livy*, as a *Paduan*, used in many Places of his History. This was the Sentiment of *Quintilian*, who was too piercing a Wit himself, and too near a Neighbour of those Times, to be ignorant of the Meaning of this Charge, which he imputes only to a rustical Accent in the Pronunciation.

He was blamed by *Augustus* for favouring *Pompey*'s Party, and inclining to the Side of Liberty; and *Caligula* accused him of Negligence on one side, and an excessive Redundancy of Words on the other, and commanded his Statues and Writings to be removed from all Libraries, where he knew they were curiously preserved. But the capricious Humour of this Tyrant exerted it self with the

the ſame Barbarity againſt the Images and Works of *Homer* and *Virgil*. *Domitian*, another Monſter and Prodigy of Nature, put to death one *Metius Pompoſianus*, for the Delight he received by reading the Orations of *Livy*. *Seneca* the Rhetorician accuſes *Livy* of Envy and Prejudice when he gave *Thucydides* the preference to *Salluſt*. *Quintilian* obſerves, that *Livy* begins his Hiſtory with an Hexameter Verſe. *Gregory* the Great would not ſuffer the Works of *Livy* to be laid up in any *Chriſtian* Library; indeed his Hiſtory is full of Prodigies; ſometimes an Ox ſpeaks, then a Mule ingenders; Men, Women, Cocks and Hens change their Sex; it rains Showers of Flint-ſtones, Fleſh, Chalk, Blood and Milk. The Statues of the Gods are ſaid to ſpeak, to ſhed Tears, and ſweat pure Blood. How many Apparitions of Phantoms do we find? How many Armies ready to engage in the Air? How many Lakes and Rivers of Blood? Pope *Gregory* was perſuaded that *Livy* intermixed theſe Prodigies in his Hiſtory to authorize his Religion, when his Deſign ſeems to have been no more than to divert the Reader with Variety, and to enliven the Flatneſs, and relieve the Melancholy of his Narrations.*

HIS Style is blamed for being too diffuſive, and by his continual Amplifications he wants that Vigour and Strength which is admirable in *Thucydides*; but this Fault may be eaſily pardoned, conſidering it is that Diffuſeneſs alone that makes him ſtately and majeſtick. It muſt be own'd he is ſometimes obſcure, and affects the Uſage of very ancient *Latin* Words, which now are obſolete, and he has peculiar Ways of ſpeaking, unknown to other Authors, and only proper to himſelf. But it is probable he has been corrupted in many Places,

* Livy did not invent these whether Stories — about omens — Apparitions & various wonders but gave them as traditions of ancient date —

whether by thoſe who were the firſt Copyers, or by the ancient Editions, whether by the Moderns, or by the falſe Conjectures of unſkilful Criticks, who pretending to correct him where they have not underſtood him, have quite ſpoiled what they would have mended, ſo that we are far from having *Livy* ſuch as he was at firſt.

He is charged with being not exact enough in furniſhing himſelf with Inſtructions, by diving into the Bottom of his Subject; that he only wrote from the Memoirs of the Conquerors, who had undoubtedly ſuppreſſed what made for their Diſadvantage. They add, that if *Livy* had been at the ſame Expence to purchaſe the Memorials of *Carthage*, as *Thucydides* to obtain thoſe of *Lacedæmon*, he had not expatiated ſo largely upon the Dignity of the *Roman* People, he would doubtleſs have found ſome Particulars where to have done more Juſtice to *Hannibal* and his Republick than he did.

The Revelation of *Romulus* after his Death, that *Rome* ſhould become the Capital of the World, and all the Particulars of that Apparition ſeen by *Proculus*, and which he related to the People, has ſomething ſo Enthuſiaſtick in it, that one is amazed an Author of ſo ſolid a Character ſhould ſuffer ſuch a Story to paſs without giving it a more plauſible Turn. The Adventure of *Lucretia*, as wondrous as it is, is not ſo admirably put together, there is ſomething wanting to its Probability, a Man knows not upon what Grounds ſhe kills her ſelf. If ſhe has ſuffered Violence, why does ſhe puniſh her ſelf, ſince ſhe could not reſiſt it? Why would ſhe not die before ſhe was raviſhed? Is it Modeſty or Vanity, is it Wiſdom or Deſpair, is it Love of Virtue, or Glory, that makes her

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ſtab her ſelf? All Things rightly conſidered, one knows not what it is. The Audaciouſneſs of *Clælia* too is a little extravagant, and conſidering the Make of the *Tiber*, was a Thing impracticable; a Maid naturally timorous could never think of attempting ſo dangerous a Paſſage in a River whoſe Brinks are almoſt inacceſſible. A few more Failings might be collected out of the Writings of *Livy*, which ſhew indeed that his Pen was mortal, and that nothing is more eſſential to Man than to ſlip ſometimes; but his many Excellencies, and the Greatneſs of his Merit remain ſtill ſacred and inviolable. No Hiſtorian could be happier in the Dignity of his Subject, and none was better qualified to adorn it; his Genius was every way capable of the mighty Undertaking, and was equal and fully anſwerable to the Majeſty of the *Roman* Empire.

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS.

THOUGH this Writer in the two Books he compoſed pretended only to write an Epitome of the *Roman* Hiſtory, from the Foundation of *Rome* to the Time wherein he lived, which, as he ſays himſelf, was in the Reign of *Tiberius*; yet he began his Account with Things more ancient: For tho' the Beginning of his firſt Book is loſt, we nevertheleſs find in the Remains of it the Antiquities of many Cities more ancient than *Rome*, the Originals whereof he diſcovers before he deſcribes the Foundation of that great Metropolis. He was of an illuſtrious Extraction, as appears by thoſe of his Family, who had ſignalized themſelves in the

the Exerciſe of many of the greateſt Employments of the *Roman* Empire; was a military Tribune when *Caius Cæſar*, a Grandſon of *Auguſtus*, had an Interview with the King of the *Parthians* in an Iſle of the *Euphrates*. He commanded the Cavalry in *Germany* under *Tiberius*, and accompanied that Prince nine Years ſucceſſively in all his Expeditions; he received honourable Rewards from him, and was advanced to the Prætorſhip. Having glorioufly ſucceeded in the military Profeſſion, he ſays himſelf, that the Remembrance of the Countries he had ſeen during the Time he commanded in the Armies, and in his Voyages through the Provinces of *Thrace*, *Macedonia*, *Achaia*, *Aſia* the leſs, and other more eaſterly Regions, eſpecially thoſe upon the Shores of the *Euxine* Sea, furniſhed his Mind with moſt agreeable Diverſions. Whereby one may judge, that if he had writ this Hiſtory as intire and large as he ſometimes promiſed, we ſhould have found many Things very conſiderable in it, as reported by a Man who was ſo eminent an Eye-witneſs, and had a Share in the Execution of the nobleſt Part of them. In that little which is left, wherein he repreſents all compendiouſly, divers Particulars are related that are no where elſe to be found; which happens either by the Silence of other Hiſtorians in thoſe Matters, or the ordinary Loſs of part of their Labours.

THE Style of *Velleius Paterculus* is very worthy of his Age, which was alſo the Time of pure Language. His greateſt Excellence lies in diſcommending or praiſing thoſe he ſpeaks of, which he does in the ſofteſt Terms, and moſt delicate Expreſſions that are ſeen in any other Hiſtorian or Orator. But he is blamed, and perhaps with reaſon, for flattering too much the Party and Houſe of *Auguſtus*, and making extravagant Elogies not

only of *Tiberius*, but even of his Favourite *Sejanus*, whoſe Merit he celebrates as one of the principal and moſt *virtuous* Perſons that the *Roman* Commonwealth has produced. But the like Fault may be found in many others who have writ the Hiſtory of their own Times, with a deſign to publiſh it whilſt they lived; however, *Lipſius* imagined, that thoſe his exceſſive Praiſes of *Sejanus* were the Cauſe of his Fall, and the Ruin of the reſt of that unhappy Favourite's Friends, who were almoſt all put to death upon his account; but yet this Opinion can paſs for nothing but a meer Conjecture, ſince it is no where elſe to be ſeen.

THE Nature of his Epitome did not (it ſeems) admit of Orations, yet an oblique one is to be found in his ſecond Book, in which he introduces the Son of *Tigranes* ſpeaking to *Pompey* to procure his Favour. *Paterculus*'s Remark (ſays *Rapin*) upon the death of *Pompey*, baſely aſſaſſinated by the Perfidiouſneſs of King *Ptolemy* of *Egypt*, has ſomewhat of Greatneſs in it, and well becomes that Place of the Story, which wanted ſuch a Light and Grace: So various, ſays he, was the Fortune of that Great Man, that he who but lately wanted Earth for the Extent of his Victories, now wanted it for the Dimenſions of his Grave. The Thought is beautiful, but rather too much refined after the Manner of that Author; *Paterculus*, ſays the ſame Critick, to enliven the melancholy Story of the Proſcription by the Triumviri, throws in a very pleaſant Piece of Raillery, which he makes to be ſpoken by the Soldiers as they followed the triumphal Chariot of *Lepidus* and *Plancus:* Our two Conſuls triumphed not over the *Gauls*, but over the *Germans*, as having conſented to the Baniſhment of their *neareſt Relations*. Such Strictures as theſe,

theſe, as they are ſurpriſing in themſelves, ſo they are very fortunate in Hiſtory, and have a wonderful Effect in relieving the Spirit, and raiſing the Attention.

THERE is ſomething very remarkable in the Style of this Writer, which is, that among all the Figures of Oratory which he uſes, he employs the *Epiphonema* ſo gracefully, that perhaps no one ever equalled him in that reſpect. So that in all, or moſt of the Events which he mentions, there are few that he does not conclude with one of theſe ſententious Reflections, which Rhetoricians call by that Name. And beſides, the Beauty of that Figure when it is judiciouſly employed, as he knew how to do it, there is nothing inſtructs a Reader more uſefully than that ſort of Corollary applied to the End of the chief Actions of every Narration. Our Writer ſhewed his ſtrong Inclination to Eloquence in his Invective againſt *Marc Antony* on the Subject of his Proſcription, and upon the Death of *Cicero*, whom he wonderfully applauds in that place, and in another of the ſame Book, where he acknowledges that without ſuch a Perſon, *Greece*, tho' overcome in Arms, might have boaſted to have been victorious in Wit. He had ſo mighty an Eſteem for this Orator, that he declares, that excepting thoſe whom *Cicero* ſaw, or by whom he was ſeen and heard, there was none among the *Romans* that deſerved to be admired for their Eloquence, which was a Faculty as to the excelling Part, as it were circumſcribed only within the Compaſs of *Cicero*'s Life.

BESIDES the two Books of the abridged Hiſtory of *Velleius Paterculus*, a Fragment has been produced, which is aſcribed to him, touching the Defeat of ſome *Roman* Legions in the Country of

the *Griſons*. It mentions a City called *Cicera*, and takes notice, that of a Legion there engaged *Verres* alone eſcaped, whom *Cicero* cauſed afterwards to be condemned with Infamy, for having, during his Proconſulſhip in *Sicily*, uſed ſuch Extortions that almoſt ruined that important Province. But moſt learned Men, and *Velſerus* with *Voſſius* among the reſt, declaim againſt this Piece, which they affirm to be counterfeit, as well by the Style, which ſeems to be of an Age much inferior to that of *Paterculus*, as by the Matter whereof it treats, wherein they find great Abſurdities. But laying aſide the doubtful Judgment of Criticks, it is evident in reſpect of the true Phraſe of this Author, that excepting the Faults which proceed rather from his Tranſcribers than himſelf, and the Copies than the Original, we have nothing more pure in all the *Latin* Language than his Writings, nor more worthy of the Times of *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius*.

THIS Writer is allowed to be a clear and efficacious Explainer of ancient Hiſtory. He is honeſt and true, ſays *Aldus Minutius*, till you come to the *Cæſars*, where he is not every where faithful; for through Flattery he conceals and covers many Things, and plainly relates them otherwiſe than they were, yet he every where expreſſes himſelf with a full and flowing Eloquence. Nothing, ſays *Lipſius*, can flow with greater Purity and Sweetneſs than his Style, he comprehends the Antiquities of the *Romans* with ſo much Brevity and Perſpicuity, that (if he were extant intire) he would be without an Equal; he commends the illuſtrious Perſons he names with a certain exalted Oratory, and becoming ſo great a Man. His Style is pure, clear, elegant, and worthy of the beſt Age of *Roman* Literature. But this Critick cenſures his Faults

Faults with great Freedom. Among the Ancients, ſays he, *Velleius Paterculus* likewiſe raiſes my Indignation. He repreſents *Ælius Sejanus* endowed with all good Qualities, and applauds him as upon a Theatre. The Impudence of this Hiſtorian! However, we know he was born and died for the Diſtruction of Mankind. After many Commendations, he concludes, that *Livia Auguſta* was a Woman that reſembled the Gods more than Man. And then as to *Tiberius*, he thinks it a Crime to ſpeak otherwiſe of him than of an immortal *Jove*. What ſincere or honeſt Mind can bear this? On the other hand, how cunningly doth he conceal every where the excellent Qualities of *Cæſar Germanicus*? How ſlily does he ruin the Reputation of *Agrippina*, and others, whom *Tiberius* was thought to hate? In ſhort, he is nothing but a Court Proſtitute. You will ſay, perhaps, it was unſafe to ſpeak the Truth in thoſe Times; I own it: but if he durſt not write the Truth, he ought not to have wrote Lyes. No Man is called to an Account for Silence.

IT is ſomewhat ſtrange that a Work ſo worthy to be carefully preſerved, and of which Copies might be eaſily made by reaſon of its Brevity, ſhould be in danger of being loſt. The firſt Edition of this Author was publiſhed by *Rhenanus* at *Baſil*, from the Manuſcript of *Morbac*, in the Year 1520. It is obſerved that no ancient Writer but *Priſcian* makes mention of *Paterculus*; but the Moderns have done him infinitely more Juſtice, by publiſhing him frequently with Notes and Commentaries. The *Annales Velleiani* of Mr. *Dodwell*, prefixed to the *Oxford* Edition, are a Piece of Learning which diſcovers a very great Knowledge of Antiquity.

QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS.

ALEXANDER had no reaſon to complain (as he once did) for not having, like *Achilles*, a *Homer* to celebrate his Actions, ſince there was found among the *Latins* ſo eminent an Hiſtorian as *Quintus Curtius* to deſcribe the Adventures of his Life. He was certainly, ſays *La Mothe*, one of the greateſt Authors they had, and the Excellency of his Style would ſeem to intimate that he was more antient than *Livy* and *Paterculus*, and to make him paſs for him whom *Cicero* ſpeaks of in one of his Epiſtles, if the more common Opinion of thoſe who have laboured in the Search of his Age, did not place him in the Reign of *Veſpaſian*, and ſome to have lived in the time of *Trajan*. As he lived to a great Age, he may well be the ſame Perſon mentioned by *Suetonius* as a great Rhetorician, in the Reign of *Tiberius*, and *Tacitus* as a Prætor and Proconſul of *Africa* under that Emperor; for there is not above two and thirty Years from the laſt of *Tiberius* to the firſt of *Veſpaſian*; and what the younger *Pliny* reports of a Phantaſm which appeared in *Africa* to one *Curtius Rufus*, can be underſtood of no other than him that was mentioned by *Tacitus* as aforeſaid.

BUT it is of little moment to reconcile the Diverſity of Opinions upon this Subject, which are collected together by *Voſſius*; perhaps he was a Son only of thoſe whom *Cicero* or *Suetonius* mentions, and may have nothing in common with any of the other that we have named, eſpecially conſidering

ing that neither *Quintilian*, nor any of the Antients have ſaid the leaſt Word of him, or his Hiſtory, which is very ſtrange: for how *Quintilian*, who omitted not to mention all the conſiderable Hiſtorians then extant, in the tenth Book of his Inſtitutions, writ in *Domitian*'s Reign, could forget him, is not to be anſwered, without preſuppoſing that the Works of *Quintus Curtius* were not at that time publiſhed.

THE common Impreſſions of this Author confeſs that his two firſt Books, and the End of the fifth are loſt, as alſo the Beginning of the ſixth; and in ſome few Places of the laſt, which is the tenth, there appears a manifeſt defect. The two firſt Books were ſupplied by *Chriſtopher Bruno*, which he did out of what *Arrian*, *Diodorus*, *Juſtin*, and ſome others had related upon the ſame Subject. The Character of this Writer is highly applauded by the moſt eminent Judges of Hiſtory, tho' not wholly exempt from Imperfections. Both *Arrian* and *Quintus Curtius* are florid Writers (ſays *Colerus*;) but *Curtius* is the brighter, and ſweeter than Honey itſelf; he does rather weary than ſatiate hisReader,he abounds with direct and oblique Sentences by which the Life of Man is ſtrangely illuſtrated. *Lipſius* agrees in the ſame Judgment: He is, ſays he, in my Opinion, an honeſt and true Hiſtorian, if any ſuch there have been; there is a ſtrange Felicity in his Style, and a Pleaſantneſs in his Relations, he is contracted and fluent, ſubtle and clear, careleſs and yet accurate, true in his Judgment, ſearching in his Sentences, and in his Orations eloquent above what I can expreſs. But Father *Rapin* gives the fulleſt Account

count of this Writer, which I ſhall tranſlate at large.

QUINTUS CURTIUS, ſays that Critick, is ſhining and florid, nothing can be more polite; he affects a Gaiety in his Expreſſions, which extremely pleaſes the Men of Wit. Every thing ought to be grounded upon Reaſon, therefore this Hiſtorian is not always in the right. When he endeavours to make his Hero ſo admirable, he does not make him take the wiſeſt Reſolutions, but on the contrary the moſt heroic and perilous. He always finds a Charm in Danger, and cares not ſo much for Conqueſts as the Honour of conquering. He has handled a noble Theme with too florid and gay an Air, in Terms too exquiſite and far-fetched, and too ſtudied Figures. In ſome places he ſports a little with his Subject, forgetting the Importance was ſuch as required more Gravity. It is in the power of his Hero to ſurprize *Darius* in the Night, and by that means keep him from knowing how weak he was, (*Darius* having double the Number of Men;) but this great Man, who is leſs ſolicitous for getting a Victory than making his Valour to be admired, attacks the King of *Perſia* in the broad Day, being reſolved rather to die with Honour, than conquer by a Surpriſe. *Darius*, after his Defeat, offers to divide *Aſia* with him, and propoſes a Match between him and his Daughter, but *Alexander* rather chuſes to arrive at Glory thro' Dangers, than become a Maſter ſo peaceably, he will hear of none of theſe Propoſals, and aims at nothing but what is wonderful. His Hiſtorian, I confeſs, does him a great deal of Honour, but does not all this great Honour want a little Probability? Does he not make his Hero more raſh than wiſe? and more adventurous than

ambitious?

ambitious? He thought thoſe Sentiments more noble, no doubt, but on the other ſide he has ſtrained them too far, and has given us reaſon to queſtion whether he has left us a Romance, or a Hiſtory. *Quintus Curtius* might well have ſpared to have made *Alexander* ſo infamous as he does in ſome Places. There are ſome Perſons of that Eminence as to have a right to Privileges, whom we ought to treat with Civility and Reſpect; we may indeed relate their perſonal Faults, but we muſt never offend their Dignity, or debaſe their Greatneſs. This Hiſtorian, however, deſerves to be commended for his Sincerity, for he ſpeaks the good and the bad of his Hero, without the leaſt Prepoſſeſſion to his Merit. If any Fault is to be found with his Hiſtory, it is for being too polite; but nevertheleſs he has excelled in a pleaſant and natural Way of deſcribing the Manners of Mankind.

ANTONIUS PANORMITANUS, and ſeveral others, obſerve a memorable Occurrence concerning this Hiſtorian, in reference to *Alphonſo* that wiſe King of *Arragon*, who finding himſelf oppreſſed with an Indiſpoſition, from which all the Remedies of his Phyſicians could not deliver him, applied himſelf for Diverſion to the Reading of *Quintus Curtius*; which he did with ſo much Satisfaction and Succeſs, that he became cured of his Infirmity, and proteſted to all about him, that neither *Hippocrates* nor *Avicenna* ſhould ever be of equal Conſideration to him with that Hiſtory.

BUT notwithſtanding the Applauſe that generally attends the Character of this Hiſtorian, he is not to be diſmiſſed without taking notice of ſome of his Imperfections. Though he muſt be allowed to be very neat and florid in his Style, which

which is declamatory, this Humour of declaiming has led him into many Errors. His Narrations want that Simplicity which is eſſential to Hiſtory, and are purſued in ſuch elegant Terms and Heat of Elocution, as makes it evident he ſtudied the Art of Rhetorick more than Hiſtory. This Affectation of Eloquence frequently makes him frigid, and ever ſententious. He is juſtly condemned for his abſurd Hyperboles, and incredible Narrations. Who can imagine an hundred thouſand Foot and ten thouſand Horſe were cut off with the Loſs of no more than an hundred and fifty Horſe and thirty-two Foot; and that in an obſtinate Fight, wherein *Darius*'s Guards are repreſented as dying an honourable and brave Death in defence of their King?

THE Deſcription of the River *Ganges* in *India*, with its Inhabitants, offends againſt the Unity of Hiſtory, and is too great a Digreſſion. His Characters are imperfect, and often inconſiſtent. What we have of the Perſons who act, except of the Hero and *Parmenio*, is little more than a Judgment on ſome particular Facts. *Darius* is deſcribed as impatient of the Truth, juſt before *Charidemus* is hurried away to capital Puniſhment; and as his Death is purely the Effect of *Darius*'s Cruelty and Pride, the Character the Hiſtorian gives him of Clemency and Sanctity, is altogether inconſiſtent. The Attempt on *Alexander*'s Life, by way of Aſſaſſination and Bribery is another Inſtance of *Darius*'s Inhumanity. *Curtius* makes *Parmenio* ſuperiour to his Hero: "*Parmenio* acted many things without "the *King*, but the King nothing of moment "without *Parmenio*."

NOTWITHSTANDING his Orations are harmonious, and full of elegant Alluſions, Illuſtrations and

and Compariſons; yet they are too ſententious, and ſometimes ill adapted to the Perſons. The Oration of the *Scythians* to *Alexander*, is a handſome Invective againſt Covetouſneſs and Ambition; but has no Veriſimilitude as it ſtands in that Hiſtory. Had theſe *Scythians* been Lords of the Univerſe, they could not have expreſſed themſelves in higher Terms and with greater Confidence; and yet they were ſubdued at the firſt Aſſault, though they had many Advantages on their ſide. He is condemned in the *Ars Critica* of *Le Clerc*, for Ignorance in Aſtronomy and Geography, and Neglect in Chronology. He has ſituated the Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon* in a wonderful temperate Climate, tho' it lies in the *Inner Lybia*, about twenty Degrees of North Latitude. He has put *Arabia Felix* for *Arabia Deſerta*, and placed it on the left hand, when it ſhould be on the right. And a little after he makes *Tigris* and *Euphrates* run through *Media*, where they never come; which is alſo the Error of *Diodorus Siculus*. He confounds Mount *Caucaſus* with *Taurus*; and makes the *Caſpian* and *Hircanian* two Seas, with many Errors of the ſame Nature. However this Writer is certainly preferable to all other Hiſtorians, for the Uſe of Schools: His Acuteneſs and Vehemency make the deepeſt Impreſſions on the Minds of Youth. There is a muſical Flow in the Number of his Proſe. His Periods taken together are wonderfully ſweet, and his Sentiments very inſtructive. Nothing out-does him in that kind of Eloquence Children ſhould have a taſte of in their firſt Compoſitions.

TITUS

TITUS PETRONIUS ARBITER.

TITUS PETRONIUS was a *Roman* Knight, of the Family of the *Petronius's*; which derived its Original from the *Sabines*, and gave ſo many illuſtrious Men to the Service of the Republick. There's no queſtion but he was brought up with all the Care they then employed at *Rome* in the Education of young Perſons of Quality; for at that time the *Romans* were very induſtrious in cultivating the Minds of their Youth, and even ſeemed to emulate the Severity of the *Greeks*.

WHAT he chiefly applied himſelf to was polite Literature; and that he particularly endeavoured a Juſtneſs of Taſte, is evident, ſince we find it in its utmoſt Perfection in his Writings.

AFTER the Completion of his firſt Studies, he made his Appearance at the Court of *Claudius*; but his Aſſiduity there was no hinderance to his principal Deſign, of perfecting himſelf in the Sciences; and therefore he employed his leiſure Hours in making Declamations, which was the cuſtom of thoſe times, in order to exerciſe and enable their young Gentlemen of the firſt Quality to ſpeak in publick; for which purpoſe they had ſeveral Schools, and by this ſucceſsful Method furniſhed themſelves with ſo many famous Orators, both in their Senate and Armies, to the great Advantage of the Republick.

THE Court of *Claudius* was then the very Seat of Pleaſure, thro' the Care and Encouragement of the

the Empreſs *Meſſalina*, who had an entire Aſcendant over the Mind of the Emperor; for he being a weak Prince, complied with every thing, provided they indulged him at Table, for he paſſionately loved good Eating, and Wine to Exceſs. The Courtiers alſo followed the Examples of their Prince, and Debauchery was no leſs familiar to them. *Petronius* commencing Courtier under a Reign where the Mode of Living was ſo agreeable to his own Temper, he alſo became inſenſibly voluptuous; tho' it muſt be remarked, that he never delighted in the brutal Pleaſures of Love like *Meſſalina*, nor in thoſe of the Table even to Gluttony with *Claudius*; but only in a delicate and grand manner took a Reliſh of both, rather to gratify his Curioſity than his Senſes. Thus he employed a Part of the Day in Sleep, and dedicated the whole Night to Pleaſure and Buſineſs, his Houſe was the Reſort of all the polite People in *Rome*; his Life agreeably ſpent amongſt their Viſits, and as others make themſelves famous by Intrigues, *Petronius* gained a Reputation by a graceful Indolence, and a Behaviour which was as eaſy, diſengaged and natural, as his ordinary Diſcourſe. One may therefore repreſent him as continually employed, either in witty Converſations, the elegant Delights of the Table, or at publick Shews or Diverſions; and in ſhort, as ſpending his Revenue not like a Prodigal or Debauchee, but like a delicate and learned Artiſt in the Science of Pleaſure.

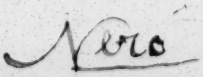
PETRONIUS having paſſed his Youth in a Life of ſo much Softneſs and Tranquility, was reſolved to convince thoſe who might doubt of the Extent of his Capacity, that it was capable of the higheſt Employments; wherefore he put an Interval to his Pleaſures, and accepting the Proconſulſhp

ſulſhip of *Bithynia*, went into that Province, where he diſcharged the Duties of his Office with great Applauſe. After which, as he was on his Return to *Rome*, *Nero*, who had ſucceeded *Claudius*, made him Conſul. The Term of his Conſulate being expired, he reſumed without quitting the Court his former way of Life, and ſoon became one of the Emperor's Confidents, who could do nothing agreeable, but what was approved by *Petronius*; and this Authority which he poſſeſſed of being Umpire in every thing, gave him the Name of *Arbiter*, as one that was ſovereign Judge.

NERO, in the firſt Years of his Reign, behaved like a wiſe Prince; and ſo long as he kept within the Bounds of Moderation, *Petronius* acted chearfully under him as Intendant of his Pleaſures, ordering him Shows, Games, Comedies, Muſick, Feaſts, Parties of Pleaſure in the Country, delightful Gardens, charming Ladies; and in ſhort, all that could contribute to make a Prince paſs his Life agreeably.

BUT the Emperor giving way to his natural Diſpoſition, at length changed his Conduct, not only in regard to the Government of the Empire, but alſo to that of his own Perſon. He liſtened to other Counſels than thoſe of *Petronius*, and engaging himſelf inſenſibly in Debauchery, gave the entire Reins to his Paſſions, and became as wicked a Prince as he had before appeared mild and equitable.

NERO was a Scholar, and had given ſufficient Proofs of it from his Youth; for at fifteen Years of Age he pleaded in the Senate in his own Language for the *Boulonnois*, and in *Greek* for the *Rhodians*; but his Learning was confuſed, and very much



much embaraſſed. He was alſo a Lover of Men of Wit, and had ſeveral Flatterers about him, who, following the Corruption of the Court, treated *Seneca* as a Pedant, nor could endure his preaching Virtue and Morality to them; becauſe they were perſuaded, he himſelf was far from living the Life of a Philoſopher in thoſe Particulars. This frequent Ridicule inſinuated into the Emperor's Mind, and expoſed him to Contempt, which added to his own Knowledge of the unjuſt Ways by which he had amaſſed the immenſe Riches he poſſeſſed; from Contempt he paſſed to Hatred, and that Hatred was at laſt the Deſtruction of *Seneca*.

MEANTIME *Petronius* ſaw with Regret, that the Emperor began to ſhun him; that he often broke out, and following his own corrupt Inclinations, tranſgreſſed the Bounds even of Debauchery itſelf; that he had entirely loſt the Senſe of what he owed to his Dignity, would run through the Streets and Places of ill Repute, outrage all he met, turn Robber, and offer Violence to *Roman* Ladies of the firſt Quality. The diſtinguiſhed Favour of *Petronius* had drawn upon him the Envy of all thoſe, who were emulous as well as himſelf, of the good Graces of their Prince; and amongſt others, that of *Tigellinus*, Captain of the Guard, who was a dangerous Rival. This Man, from an obſcure Birth and corrupt Morals, had in a ſhort time acquired a ſurpriſing Aſcendant over the Mind of the Emperor; and, as he perfectly knew his Foible, began ſeriouſly to contrive the Ruin of his Competitor, and that by ſuch means as were thought to threaten the Deſtruction of the Empire.

THE delicate Pleaſures of *Petronius* were continual Upbradings to the groſs Debaucheries of *Tigellinus*;

gellinus; who, foreſeeing that *Petronius*'s Credit would always be an Obſtacle to his Deſigns, reſolved to make himſelf intire Maſter of his Prince's Heart; and, as their Inclinations were almoſt the ſame, he ſoon engaged him in the fouleſt Brutalities. It is certain, he met with little Difficulty in the Attempt; for finding a Nature wholly diſpoſed, he drew the Emperor without Trouble into Pleaſures, which were neither in the Taſte, nor by the Advice of *Petronius*; and thus they completely deprav'd him, to ſecure him from his Rival: for *Nero*, who was already a Parricide by the Murder of his Mother, no ſooner gave ear to *Tigellinus*, but he ſignaliz'd his Tyranny by the Deaths of *Sylla* and *Rubellius Plautus*, both Perſons dreaded by them for their Virtue, and the Favour they were in with the People. After which, Fury and Brutality made themſelves Miſtreſſes of his Heart, to ſuch an Exceſs that the moſt enormous Crimes were openly perpetrated by him. When the Emperor was thus confirmed in his Diſorders, the old Favourite found himſelf almoſt without Employment near his Prince, and *Nero* himſelf was not able to endure ſo nice a Witneſs of his Infamies, and no longer gave him that free Entrance into his Pleaſures, which he formerly enjoyed.

TIGELLINUS, taking his advantage of theſe Diſpoſitions, omitted nothing that might gratify the Deſires of his Prince, by the magnificent Feaſts he provided; and as his Rival, according to *Tacitus*, much ſurpaſſed him in the Science of Pleaſures, one may conclude without fear of being deceived, that thoſe which *Petronius* order'd were of a different nature, and guilty of none of thoſe Exceſſes that were ſeen in one of their Feaſts, which

which that Hiſtorian relates as an Example of all the reſt, and deſcribes in this manner. They prepared a ſtately Feaſt on the Lake of *Agrippa*, in a Veſſel covered with Plates of Gold and Ivory: The Rowers were placed in their Ranks, which they took according to their Age and Experience in Debauchery. The Ends of the Earth were drained for the rareſt Eatables. The Lake was bordered with Portico's, in which were great Numbers of Chambers filled on one ſide with Women of Quality who proſtituted themſelves to the firſt Comers, and on the other with naked Courtezans in a thouſand laſcivious Poſtures: At Night appeared ſurpriſing Illuminations in every Quarter, and the Woods and Palaces round about echoed with Concerts of muſical Inſtruments, and Songs adapted to the Feaſt. In ſhort, to conclude this grand Debauch in a memorable Action, *Nero* was married a little after to one of the moſt abandoned Wretches of her Sex, named *Pythagora*, and that publickly with all the accuſtomed Ceremonies. They put upon the Emperor's Head the Eſpouſed's Veil, ſent him two Auſpices, aſſigned him the Marriage-Portion, adorned the nuptial Bed, lighted Wedding Torches; and, to conclude, the Bride admitted that to be ſeen of all the Company, which the Shades of Night conceal in the moſt lawful Pleaſures.

PETRONIUS, diſguſted at theſe Scenes of Licentiouſneſs, inſenſibly withdrew himſelf from Court, and being of a mild and unenterprizing Nature, ſuffered Things to run on in the Train they had taken, without attempting to re-eſtabliſh them in the Condition he left them. I imagine, it was about that time that he vented his Uneaſineſs in his Satire, which is ſo lively a Repreſentation of

Nero's Debaucheries

 the

the Character and Humour of *Nero*; and under the Names of Debauchees and lewd Women decries all the Vices of that Prince and his Courtiers.

WHILST *Petronius* thus lived in a retired Tranquility, *Tigellinus* laboured with all his Power to deſtroy him, that he might for ever take from the Rival he had removed, the Poſſibility of re-entring into Favour; and as he knew that Cruelty was the predominant Inclination of his Prince, he inſinuated to him that *Petronius* was too much the Friend of *Scevinus*, not to be dipped in *Piſo*'s Conſpiracy; and to ſupport his Impoſture, cauſed him to be preſent at the Examination of one of *Petronius*'s Slaves, whom he had ſuborned to ſwear againſt his Maſter. After which, to deprive him of all means of juſtifying himſelf, they clapped the greateſt part of his Domeſticks into Priſon.

NERO was very glad of the opportunity of loſing a Man, who was become painful to him; therefore he lent a favourable Ear to the Accuſation againſt *Petronius*, who was ſoon after arreſted by his Orders at *Cuma*, upon a Journey which the Emperor took to that Place, and into *Campania*. But it required ſome time to deliberate, whether they ſhould put a Perſon of his Conſideration to death without more evident Proofs of the Crimes laid to his Charge. He took ſo great a diſguſt to living under the Dominion of ſo deteſtable a Prince, that he reſolved to die. However, that he might not give himſelf a precipitate Death, he cauſed his Veins to be opened, and afterwards cloſed again, that he might enjoy the Converſation of his Friends, who came to ſee him in his laſt Moments; and whom he deſired to entertain him, not with Diſcourſes on the Immortality of the Soul, nor thoſe celebrated Actions invented by the Pride of Philoſophers

Death of Petronius

ſophers to amuſe the World with a vain Opinion of their Conſtancy, but with agreeable Tales and Poetick Gallantries.

As *Petronius* had an utter Abhorrence to People of *Nero*'s and *Tigellinus*'s Character, he would not imitate the mean Spirit of thoſe, who, dying in theſe wretched times by the Orders of that Prince, yet made him their Heir; and ſtuffed their Teſtaments full of Elegies, on the Tyrant and his Favourite. On the contrary, being poſſeſſed of a Goblet of precious Stones, which had coſt him above two thouſand Piſtoles, and out of which he commonly drank, he broke it to pieces, that *Nero*, who he knew would ſeize it after his Death, might not have the pleaſure of uſing it at his Table. After this he thought proper, as his only Preſent, to ſend him his Satire, wrote on purpoſe againſt him; but having ſealed it up, tore off the Seal again, for fear when he was dead it might be made uſe of as an Inſtrument to deſtroy thoſe in whoſe hands it ſhould be found.

NERO was exceedingly inraged, to ſee *Petronius* ſo well acquainted with Infamies he thought he had hid from him; and after levelling his Suſpicion at all that could poſſibly betray him, he at laſt fixed on the Wife of a Senator, named *Silia*, who, becauſe ſhe was an intimate Friend of *Petronius*, he imagined out of a particular Reſentment, ſhe might hazard a Diſcovery of what would have been more for her Honour to conceal; and upon this Jealouſy ſhe was ſent into Baniſhment. It was in the Year of the Foundation of *Rome* 819, under the Conſulſhips of *Caius Suetonius Paulinus* and *Lucius Pontius Teleſinus*, that City was deprived of ſo great a Perſon.

PETRONIUS, ſays *St. Evremont*, is to be admired

The grand Goblet of Petronius.

mired throughout for the Purity of his Style, and the Delicacy of his Sentiments; but that which more ſurprizes, is his great Eaſineſs in giving ingenuouſly all Sorts of Characters. *Terence* is perhaps the only Author of Antiquity, that enters beſt into the Nature of Perſons; but ſtill he has this Fault, that he has too little Variety: His whole Talent being confined in making Servants and old Men, a covetous Father and a debauched Son, a Slave and an Intriguer, to ſpeak properly according to their ſeveral Characters: So far and no farther the Capacity of *Terence* reaches. You muſt not expect from him either Gallantry or Paſſion, either Thoughts or the Diſcourſe of a Gentleman. *Petronius*, who had an univerſal Wit, hits upon the Genius of all Profeſſions, and adapts himſelf, as he pleaſes, to a thouſand different Natures. If he introduces a Declaimer, he aſſumes his Air and his Style ſo well, that one would ſay he had uſed to declaim all his Life. There is no Nature, no Temper, no Profeſſion which he does not admirably purſue the Genius of; he is a Poet, he is an Orator, he is a Philoſopher, or any thing elſe as he ſees fit. Upon every Subject that offers itſelf, it is impoſſible to think more nicely, or to ſpeak with more Purity. In his Narrations, he ſometimes copies after plain unaffected Nature, and contents himſelf with the Graces of Simplicity; ſometimes he gives his Work the finiſhing Strokes, and then nothing is ſo poliſhed. *Catullus* and *Martial* treat of the ſame things in a groſs manner; and if any one could find the Secret in wrapping up what is obſcene in a Language like his, I dare anſwer for the Ladies that they would praiſe him for his Diſcretion.

Petronius a Satirical Poet

THERE

THERE is not, ſays *Lipſius*, among all the Poets a more beautiful and agreeable Piece than the Satyricon of *Petronius*; yet though he is eſteemed the moſt elegant and polite Writer of the Age he lived in, yet his Style fell ſomewhat ſhort of the Delicacy of his Judgment; for herein he ſeemed too affected, and too elaborate; his Style degenerating from that natural and venerable Simplicity which belonged to the happy Age of *Auguſtus*. He was certainly one of the moſt judicious Authors of the *Latin* Tongue, and gave many admirable Rules for the Beauties and Structure of an *Epic* Poem. He was diſguſted at the Style of *Seneca* and *Lucan*, which to him ſeemed affected, and contrary to the Principles of *Ariſtotle*. 'Tis at them he levels with thoſe Glances that ſlip from him againſt the Poetaſters and falſe Declamators; yet he could not come up to his own Rules, nor fall into that eaſy and natural way which he preſcribes to others; for he gave the beſt Advice in the World againſt Affectation, which he never obſerved himſelf; for he commends even to the Simplicity of Style, whereas his own is not always natural. To ſay the Truth, ſays *Rapin*, his Precepts for Poetry are all taken from *Ariſtotle*; who is the only Source whence good Senſe is to be drawn, when one goes about to write.

IF *Petronius* intended to expoſe the Luxury and Debauchery of *Nero*'s Court, it is ſtrange he ſhould chuſe to do it in the manner he does; for it is notorious that he ſpeaks of the moſt infamous Acts of Lewdneſs with too great a guſt to be thought a Reformer. I ſhould rather imagine that he has likewiſe drawn his own Picture among thoſe of the other Debauchees of that Court and Age. His Satire is ſuch a ſtrange Medley of Virtue and Vice

Petronius = a classical critic that

that it is sometimes difficult to determine what he condemns, or what he approves. He had certainly a great Genius, and knew very well how to enter into every Character he intended to commend or expose, and is said by a happy Temperature to have join'd the Humour of *Plautus* to the Eloquence of *Cicero*; out of which he has formed a most lively and elegant Style peculiar to himself, and hitherto inimitable; in which the Perfection of *Roman* Urbanity is easily distinguished by Readers of Taste and a polite Judgment.

AT the taking of *Alba Græca*, in the Year Sixteen hundred and Eighty-eight, from the *Turks*, there was found the Satyricon of *Petronius*, said to be perfect; and afterwards published by one *Francis Nodotius*, a *French* Gentleman, who asserts it to be compleat; but the Truth of this is much questioned by many of the most learned Men. A considerable Fragment of *Petronius* was pretended to be found at *Trau* in *Dalmatia*, in the *Venetian* Dominions, by a Physician, about the Middle of last Century. This occasioned a Controversy among the Criticks, of which there is some Account in *Spon*'s Voyages, who visited this Physician, and saw the Manuscript in question.

TACITUS.

CAIUS CORNELIUS TACITUS, a *Roman* Historian, who flourished in the first Century.

We know nothing of his Ancestors, and probably the Dignity of his Family began in his own Person. His first Employ is said to have been that of Procurator to *Vespasian* in *Gallia Belgica*. The

Beginning

Beginning of his Promotion, ſays *Lipſius*, was under *Veſpaſian*; by whom, as we have it from *Pliny*, being made Procurator in *Gallia Belgica*, he had the Care of that Prince's Revenues. Being returned to *Rome*, he received from the Emperor *Titus* a more honourable Poſt. He was Prætor under the Empire of *Domitian*, and Conſul under *Nerva*. He ſays himſelf that *Domitian* exerciſed the Secular Games, "at which I gave a conſtant "Attendance in regard to my Office, being one "of the College of Prieſts, and at the ſame time "Prætor; which, I do not mention out of Vanity, "but becauſe anciently that College, and eſpe- "cially that Magiſtracy, had always the Direc- "tion of the Ceremonies."

BUT all theſe Dignities gave him but very little Glory, compared with that which he procured to himſelf by the Performances of his Pen. His Annals and his Hiſtory are ſomething admirable, and, ſays Mr. *Bayle*, one of the greateſt Efforts of the Human Mind; whether you conſider the Singularity of the Style, or attend to the Beauty, Thoughts, and to that happy Pencil with which he knew how to paint the Diſguiſes and Cheats of Politicians, and the Weakneſs of the Paſſions. Not (he goes on) but that he may be cenſured for the Affectation of his Language, and for his enquiring into the ſecret Motives of Actions, and pronouncing them criminal; but it is a great Compliment to his Underſtanding, to remark the Eſteem which ſeveral Princes had for his Works. Pope *Paul* the Third, ſays *Muretus*, the moſt learned Man of our Age, wore out his *Tacitus*, by frequently reading him; nor did he meet with ſo much Pleaſure in peruſing any other profane Writer. *Coſmo de Medicis* the firſt Great Duke of *Tuſcany*,

Tuſcany, and formed for governing, who taught that what is commonly called Fortune, conſiſts in Counſel and Prudence, held the Works of *Tacitus* in high Eſteem, and read them with the greateſt Delight. And at this very Day there are ſeveral Princes and Privy Counſellors to Princes who read him with great Application, and regard him as a ſort of Oracle in Politicks. The Marquis of *Spinola* tranſlated him into his Mother-Tongue; and the learned *Chriſtina*, Queen of *Sweden*, held this Writer as Entertainment for her moſt ſerious Hours; ſome Pages of whoſe Hiſtory ſhe read conſtantly every Day.

HE wrote Annals of the Publick Affairs in ſixteen Books, which begin at the Death of *Auguſtus Cæſar* and continue the Story almoſt to the End of *Nero*. We have but Part of them left, namely the four firſt Books, ſome Pages of the fifth, all the ſixth, from the eleventh to the fifteenth, and Part of the ſixteenth. The two laſt Years of *Nero*, and Part of the foregoing Year, are wanting: Theſe are the laſt Books of the Work. He has left us a Hiſtory likewiſe, which extends from the Reign of *Galba* incluſively, to the Reign of *Nerva* excluſively. He deſigned a particular Work for the Reigns of *Nerva* and *Trajan*, and that was the Buſineſs he reſerved for his old Age; but it is ſuppoſed he never executed this Deſign. If my Life will permit, ſays he, I ſhall reſerve the Reigns of *Nerva* and *Trajan* as a more copious and ſecure Subject for my old Age, as we enjoy that rare Felicity to think what we pleaſe, and ſay what we think. He wrote this Hiſtory in the time of *Trajan*, and therefore it is ſuppoſed he continued it down to that ~~time~~ period; but there is no more extant than five Books. *Lipſius* conjectures

tures there are ten loſt; for if they reached from *Galba* to *Trajan*, which includes at leaſt a Space of twenty-one Years; it is probable the greateſt part of them are wanting, ſince the five we have, comprehend little more than the Occurrences of one Year.

In all the Impreſſions of *Tacitus*, his Annals are printed before his Hiſtory: the Reaſon is, becauſe they have a farther Beginning, treating of the laſt Days of *Auguſtus*, and proceeding unto the End of *Nero*'s Reign, whoſe laſt twelve Years are nevertheleſs wanting; whereas the Books of his Hiſtory ſeem to follow one another from the Epoch of the death of that Tyrant, to the happy Government of *Nerva* and *Trajan*. And yet there is no doubt but this Writer firſt compoſed his Hiſtory, as being nearer his own Time, for he quotes a Place in the eleventh of his Annals, to which he refers his Reader, concerning what he had already writ of the Actions of *Domitian*, which were no where mentioned by him but in the Books of his Hiſtory. His Treatiſe concerning the Situation of *Germany*, and the Manners of the *Germans*, was written before his Hiſtory and Annals, when *Trajan* was Conſul a ſecond Time. The Life of *Agricola*, whoſe Daughter he had married, was written four Years after *Agricola*'s death, about the Beginning of *Trajan*'s Government. The Dialogue concerning the *Cauſes of corrupt Eloquence* does not belong to *Tacitus*, tho' *Pomponius Sabinus*, a Grammarian of the middle Age, quotes a Paſſage out of this Dialogue, making *Tacitus* the Author, but the Style is ſo different, that he is juſtly acquitted of this Imputation.

We meet with many great Encomiums of this Annaliſt in the Writings of learned Men, who

yet ſome of them have not failed to mark out his Blemiſhes, and deliver down with ſome Severity his Miſtakes and Imperfections. *Pliny* the younger, a very conſiderable Perſon, declares in many of his Epiſtles, that he eſteemed him one of the moſt eloquent of his Age; he makes him judge of a Diſpute he had about the Eloquence to be uſed in pleading at the Bar; he deſcribes to one of his Friends the Pomp of *Virginius Rufus* his Funerals, obſerving his laſt and principal Happineſs to conſiſt in the Praiſes of the Conſul *Cornelius Tacitus*, who made his Funeral Oration, and was the moſt eloquent of that Time. When he imparts to another called *Arrian* the Succeſs of a great Cauſe againſt a Proconſul of *Africa*, accuſed of robbing the publick Treaſury, he ſays, that *Cornelius Tacitus* made a Replication to the Perſon that defended him, wherein his Eloquence and Gravity, inſeparable from his Diſcourſe, were greatly admired; and to compleat the Character, he declares that from his Youth he had choſen him for a Pattern of Eloquence from among the great Number of excellent Orators that were then in *Rome*.

LIPSIUS lays himſelf out in Commendation of this Hiſtorian, he is a uſeful and great Writer, that ought to be in the Hands of thoſe that ſit at the Helm of Government. In him let us conſider the Courts of Princes, their private Lives, Councils, Commands, and Actions, and from the Similitude of thoſe Times with ours, let us expect the like Events. His Style is by no means ſordid or vulgar, but diſtinguiſhed with frequent and unexpected Sentences, which for their Truth and Brevity may be compared to Oracles; he is indeed a wonderful Writer, for his is not only a Hiſtory, but a Garden and Seminary of Precepts.

TACITUS,

Tacitus was an able orator as well as historian

TACITUS, says *La Mothe*, is no less sententious than *Thucydides* or *Salust*, but with such Artifice, that all the Maxims he lays down rise from the Nature of the Subjects he treats of; there is nothing foreign, affected, too farfetched, or superfluous in what he writes; each Thought holds a Place which becomes it so well that it cannot be disputed. But that which heightens the Merit of this Writer is the Observations which others have made before me, that one often learns no less from what he left unsaid, than what he expressed, his Silence being as instructive as his Language, and his Cyphers (to speak in the Terms of Numbers) as considerable as his most important Figures, because all therein described is full of Consideration, Proportion, and Judgment. The Emperor *Tacitus*, tho' invested in the supreme Dignity of the World, near two hundred Years after the Death of our Historian, esteemed it an Honour to have had such an Ancestor, and to be acknowledged one of his Posterity. He caused a Statue of him to be placed in all Libraries, and all his Books to be writ over ten times every Year, that they might pass down perfect to After-ages; and yet this extraordinary Caution could not preserve a great part of them from being lost hitherto undiscovered.

MR. *Gordon* (who has most wretchedly acquitted himself in the Translation of this Author) has launched out extravagantly in his Commendation: He was, says he, the greatest Orator, Statesman and Historian of his Time, he had long frequented the Bar, he had passed through all the High Offices of State, he was Ædile, Prætor, Consul; and after long Acquaintance with Business and Men, he applied himself to collect Observations, and to convey the Fruits of his Knowledge to Posterity,

Tacitus - Thucydides & Sallust

terity, under the agreeable Dreſs of a Hiſtory: for this Taſk he was excellently qualified, no Man had ſeen more, ſcarce any Man had ever thought ſo much, or conveyed his Thoughts with greater Force and Vivacity; a mighty Genius, for which no Conception or Deſign was too vaſt, a powerful Orator, who abounds in great Sentiments and Deſcriptions, yet a Man of conſummate Integrity, who, tho' he frequently agitates the Paſſions, never miſleads them; a maſterly Hiſtorian, who draws Events from their firſt Sources, and explains them with a Redundancy of Images, and a Frugality of Words; a profound Politician, who takes off every Diſguiſe, and penetrates every Artifice; an upright Patriot, zealous for Publick Liberty, and the Welfare of his Country, and declared Enemy to Tyrants, and the Inſtruments of Tyranny; a Lover of Human Kind, a Man of Virtue, who adores Liberty and Truth, and every where adorns and recommends them, who abhors Falſhood and Iniquity, deſpiſes little Arts, expoſes bad ones, and ſhews upon all Occaſions, by the Fate and Fall of great wicked Men, by the Anxiety of their Souls, by the Precarioufneſs of their Power, by the Uncertainty or Suddenneſs of their Fate, what a poor Prize Greatneſs obtained is for Goodneſs loſt, and how infinitely perſecuted Virtue is preferable to ſmiling and triumphant Wickedneſs.

BUT there are learned Men of excellent Abilities who differ widely from the Sentiments of the Writers above mentioned, particularly from the laſt, who thinks himſelf no inconſiderable Obſerver, and diſplays his Talents in recommending his Author, as a mighty Stateſman, of invincible Truth and Integrity, as the Fountain and Standard of Honeſty and political Knowledge to all Poſterity.

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The learned *Caſaubon* in his Preface to *Polybius* ſpeaks thus: If the Fortune of *Tacitus* had not deprived him of a Subject worthy of his Faculties, he might have equalled any of the *Greek* and *Latin* Hiſtorians, but ſuch Times fell under his Pen, eſpecially in his Annals, as there never were any more polluted with Vices, or more deſtitute of, nay, inraged againſt all Virtues. We can eaſily excuſe *Tacitus*, but not thoſe who prefer this Author before all other Hiſtorians, recommending him as the Pattern of Stateſmen and Princes, and the only one whence they and their Counſellors may collect the Rules of Government. Now if we are inclined to expoſe the Abſurdity of this Opinion, it were eaſy to prove that thoſe who hold it, accuſe our Princes of Tyranny, or would openly teach them the Principles of it; for what can be more pernicious, eſpecially among young Men, than the reading thoſe Annals, ſo full of vicious Examples? For as good Examples when they are frequently in ſight improve a Man inſenſibly, ſo ill Examples muſt on the contrary hurt us, for by little and little they ſink into our Minds, and obtain the Force of Precepts by being often heard or read.

THE *French* Critick *Rapin* has too much Reputation to be overlooked or omitted upon this Occaſion. The Style of *Tacitus*, ſays he, is not very proper for Hiſtory, for it is full of Starts, and when it ſhines 'tis like a Flaſh of Lightning, which dazzles more than it gives Light; he has a ſtarting Wit, that ſkips from one Thing to another. His Senſe comprehended in few Words is too cloſe for the Reader's Capacity, which is often puzzled with it. And becauſe he does not follow Nature in what he relates, and generally forgets that he

ſpeaks to Men, ſo he ſeldom inſtructs us as he ſhould. As for Example, when upon the Occaſion of the *Paphian* Law he relates the Original of Laws, or when in another place he deſcribes the Privileges of Sanctuaries, he does not trace things back to their Beginnings. He never explains things thoroughly, nay ſometimes he gives a falſe Account of them, as when he takes upon him to deſcribe the *Jewiſh* Religion in the fifth Book of his Hiſtory. His Style is very improper, which is a great Fault in an Hiſtorian, whoſe primary Function is to inſtruct. *Tacitus* is ſtill more uneven than *Saluſt*. His Connexions are generally forced, and the Thread of his Diſcourſe very much broken and interrupted, which is no ſmall Diſcouragement to the Reader, who cannot follow him without putting himſelf out of breath.

THERE can be no better and exacter Deſcription than that which *Tacitus* makes of the Treat which the Empreſs *Meſſalina* gave to *Silius* her favourite Gallant. This was a Vintage Feaſt with all its Ceremonies, the Seaſon being then Autumn, and favourable for that purpoſe. Mirth, Pleaſure, Effeminacy, Wantonneſs, Impudence, Lewdneſs, and Debauchery, all in ſhort is there deſcribed, with an exquiſite Elegance and Delicacy of Expreſſion. The Particulars are related ſuccinctly, diſcreetly, and withal in a very lively manner; and nothing can be more judiciouſly placed to make, by that gay Picture, the Death of *Meſſalina*, which follows ſoon after, the more tragical and full of Horror. In ſhort, there are ſome happy Circumſtances which give a particular Grace to every thing, when a Man knows how to employ and place them as he ſhould. As for Figures, *Tacitus* is not ſo ſcrupulous, he ſeems to aim

aim at nothing but to dazzle us. The Boldneſs of his Metaphors and other Tropes makes his Expreſſion ſo high-ſtrained and troubleſome. He is an ill Huſband of his Fire, for he uſes it every where, his Colours alſo are too ſtrong and glaring, and becauſe he is often too expreſſive in ſome things and does not paint them to the Life, he therefore ſeldom affects us. A Deſcription ought not to be too minute and particular, but ſuch as is the Deſcription of the Iſle of *Caprea* in the fourth Book of the Annals; for we find in it the Reaſons *Tiberius* had to retire thither towards his latter Days, which makes it neceſſary; and as it is conciſe, polite, elegant, and has nothing in it either impertinent or ſuperfluous, it may be ſaid to be a perfect one. Nothing can be finer than the Speech which *Tacitus* makes *Tiberius* ſpeak to the Senate, upon the Reformation of Luxury, in the third Book of his Annals. Never did any Hiſtorian make a Prince ſpeak with more Dignity. A Picture ought to be true and reſembling, wherein *Tacitus* is not very exact, for he rather chuſes to follow his own Fancy, than imitate Nature, and endeavours more to make fine Pictures than true ones. If his Pictures can but pleaſe, as that of *Sejanus* in the fourth Book of his Annals, he little cares whether they reſemble or no; for he makes *Sejanus* a great deal worſe than he was, if we can believe *Paterculus*, who commends him.

THE Politicks of *Tacitus* are often falſe, becauſe his Morals are not true; either he makes the Men too bad, or he is not himſelf plain enough. His Reflections are not natural, becauſe they want Innocence. He poiſons and puts an ill Conſtruction upon Things. He has by that Humour ſpoil-

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ed ſeveral People, who imitate him in that, tho' not able to do it in any thing elſe.

THE Queſtion of the *Phœnix*, which is related in the ſixth Book of his Annals, (upon the Occaſion of the News brought to *Rome* of a *Phœnix* which appeared in *Egypt* under the Reign of *Tiberius*) is according to the Rules of an allowable Digreſſion. The Queſtion is ſcanned and examined by the different Opinions of the Naturaliſts about this extraordinary Bird, whoſe Qualities, Figure, and Shape are ſuccinctly deſcribed. Theſe ſort of Strokes in a Narration are a great Ornament to it, and ſerve wonderfully well to ſtir up the Reader's Curioſity, and keep his Attention awake. This that follows is a fine Stroke; in the height of the Mirth and Frolicks of that famous Treat which *Meſſalina* gave her Lover, they cauſed a poor ſimple Fellow called *Valens* to get up into a Tree, and aſked him what he ſaw? *A Storm*, ſaid he, *which gathers in the Air, and comes from* Oſtia. Theſe Words ſpoken by that blundering Fellow, ſpoiled preſently all their Sport, and caſt a deep Sadneſs into every body, tho' blurted out at random, and without deſign; for they were a Prognoſtication of the Return of the Emperor, who arriving ſoon after, cauſed the Empreſs to be ſtabbed, being grown weary of her Leudneſs. Thoſe Strokes that have ſomething ſurpriſing in them are very happy in Hiſtory.

TACITUS has no good Morals, (he goes on) he is a great Dodger, and covers a bad Soul under a very fine Wit. He is miſtaken in true Merit, becauſe he thinks there can be no other than that of being cunning, and he always ſpeaks more out of Policy than according to Truth. He not only has ill Thoughts of his Neighbour, but alſo he ſhews

ſhews no Piety nor Reverence for the Gods, as one may ſee in his Diſcourſe upon Fate againſt Providence, in the ſixth Book of his Annals, wherein he aſcribes all to the Stars and blind Chance, upon the Occaſion of *Traſullus*, one of *Tiberius*'s Aſtrologers, who was grown his Confidant at *Caprea*. So difficult it is for an ill Man to be a good Hiſtorian, for one has generally the ſame Principles with the other. *Tacitus* relates ſo many Obſcenities of *Tiberius*, that *Boccaline* cannot bear with him for it. He has a particular Way of deſcribing Things and Perſons, different from all the reſt, but he ſticks too much at great Things, and will not deſcend to the little ones, which are not always to be ſlighted. He thinks well, but he does not always hit upon a clear Expreſſion. He is ſometimes too much a Philoſopher. He is peremptory in his Deciſions upon every thing, and ſpeaks as if the Fate of the World lay at his mercy. He moralizes upon the Follies of others, that he may laſh every body, and ſpeak ill of all Mankind. He has ſpoiled a world of People by creating in them a Deſire of ſtudying Politicks, which is the moſt vain and uſeleſs of all Studies.

THIS Critick ſpeaks thus of this Hiſtorian, in another place: *Tacitus*, ſays he, has an admirable Genius, but he generally out-ſhoots the Sublime; he is noble enough in his Thoughts, but is not natural in what he thinks; 'tis true he has abundance of Wit, but ſuch ſort of Wit that cannot ſpeak of plain things in a plain manner, for he is ſtill politick and artificial in every thing he ſays; his Work is not ſo much an Hiſtory as Reflections upon Hiſtory; he buſied himſelf in making Reflections, being foreſtalled by others, who left nothing new for him to ſay, which determined him

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to that way he took, wherein he ſucceeded, and made himſelf conſiderable.

THE learned Author of the *Anonymiana*, or *Miſcellanies* of *Poetry*, *Oratory* and *Learning*, has ſifted the Character of this Hiſtorian with great Nicety, but I think with too little Candour. *Tacitus*, ſays he, was an able Politician, and a yet more judicious Writer; he has drawn very juſt Conſequences from the Tranſactions of the Reigns of which he wrote the Hiſtory, and has formed Maxims from them for the well-governing of a State. But if he has ſometimes aſſigned to the Actions and Commotions of the Republick their true Principles, if he has rightly unrevelled their Cauſes, it muſt be owned that he has often ſupplied with too much Nicety and Penetration thoſe Actions which had none; ſo true is it that Men characterize themſelves in whatever they do, and that the Writing of Hiſtory never is in the hands in which it ought to be, when thoſe who undertake it, being ignorant of the true Cauſe of an Action, aſſign to it that Cauſe which they imagine to be the leaſt ſenſible, and moſt concealed from the Eyes of the People. They often happen to repreſent that as a particular Secret in the Breaſt of the Prince, which was a Matter publick to all the World. And this is a Fault ſo familiar with *Tacitus*, that I dare venture to ſay, ſupported otherwiſe by a great many good Reaſons, that it is paying him too great a Compliment to take him for a very exact Hiſtorian, who has written according to Rules.———He has made choice of the niceſt Actions, and the moſt ſuſceptible of the Delicacies of Art; thoſe Reigns in which he has principally applied himſelf in his Hiſtory are no ſmall Proof of this. In that of *Tiberius*, which is without diſpute

pute his Maſter-piece, and in which he has beſt ſucceeded, he found a kind of Government more adapted to the Character of his Genius. He loved to unfold the Intrigues of the Cabinet, to aſſign their Cauſes, to turn Pretences into Deſigns, and deceitful Appearances into Realities. A Genius too ſubtile, who ſaw ſome Myſtery in all the Actions of this Prince. A ſincere Deference of his Deſigns to the Judgment of the Senate was ſometimes a Snare laid for their Integrity, ſometimes a nice way of becoming their Maſter, and always the Art of making them the Accomplices of his Deſigns, and of executing them without any Reproach. When he puniſhed the Seditious, it was an Effect of his natural Diffidence of the Citizens, or ſome ſlight Marks of Anger ſpread among the People to diſpoſe their Minds for greater Cruelties. Here the Contrariety of Humours of two Generals is the ſecret Method of croſſing the Fortune of a Competitor, and the Means to leſſen him in the Affections of the People. The Honours conferred on thoſe that deſerved them, were genteel ways of removing a Rival, or of deſtroying an Enemy, and always fatal Recompences. In a word, Policy has a hand in every thing; Vice and Virtue are there equally dangerous, and Favours as fatal as Diſgraces. *Tiberius* is never natural, he does not do the moſt ordinary Actions of other Men without deſign; his Repoſe is never without Conſequence, and his Motions are always full of Contrivances.——*Tacitus* only touched upon Hiſtory occaſionally, he appears more an Orator than any thing elſe, his ſole Deſign was to exerciſe his Eloquence. He relates few Events; he makes long and frequent Digreſſions, and his Careleſſneſs and Affectation are too apparent. He acts the Part of an

an Orator, who ſeeks to applaud himſelf, and who turns and manages different Facts to his own Advantage.———Even in their very Tents, in the middle of a Camp, or of an Army, dying Men make Speeches with the ſame Exactneſs and Preſence of Mind, which a Perſon in Health would be capable of ſhewing, if he was to compoſe them in his Study; ſometimes his fondneſs for expatiating is ſo predominant, that he does not ſtay till a General of an Army is at the Head of his Troops to harangue them, but makes him write Orders like a Schoolmaſter full of Antitheſes and Rhetorical Figures.

THE firſt five Books of the Annals were found in *Germany* by a Receiver of *Leo* the Tenth; that Pontiff having publiſhed a Brief by which he promiſed not only Indulgence to thoſe who ſhould diſcover *Tacitus*'s Manuſcripts, but alſo Money and Honour; there was a *German* who ſearched all the Libraries, and at laſt found ſome Books of the Annals in the Abby of *Corwey*, which is a Monaſtery on the *Weſer*. He went and preſented them to the Pope, who received them with great pleaſure, and aſked him what Recompence he deſired. The *German* was content to be reimburſed the Charges he had been at in going to view thoſe Libraries, and in his Journey to *Rome*. *Leo* thought that was too little, and gave him a Reward of five hundred Gold Crowns.

Leo the 10th; recovers Tacitus =

LUCIUS

LUCIUS ANNÆUS FLORUS.

THEY who place *Lucius Florus* under the Reign of *Trajan*, are obliged to correct that Place of his Preface, where he ſays, there was little leſs than two hundred Years from *Auguſtus*'s time to his. The moſt probable Opinion is, that he was of a little later Date: And it is believed, that the Poet *Florus*, whoſe Verſes *Spartianus* quotes in the Life of the Emperor *Adrian*, is the ſame of whom we now write, the Author of the Epitome of the *Roman* Hiſtory in four Books. The Verſes are in a very familiar Style:

Ego nolo Cæſar *eſſe*,
Ambulare per Britannos,
Scythicas *pati Pruinas.*

THE Emperor *Adrian* was addicted to Poetry, as may be ſeen by the pleaſant Anſwer which he returned:

Ego nolo Florus *eſſe*
Ambulare per Tabernas,
Latitare per Popinas,
Calices pati rotundos.

IT is eaſy to obſerve, that the Phraſe of *Florus* is wholly poetical; and that the Love of *Parnaſſus* cauſed him ſometimes to employ Hemiſticks in his Periods. But tho' he ſeems very licentious in it, and his Speech and Expreſſions often ſavour more of a Declaimer than an Hiſtorian; yet we muſt affirm *Sigonius* to be very unjuſt, when he ſtyles him an *impertinent Writer*. The Method obſerved by *Florus*, in giving an account of the ſeveral Wars in a ſeparate Order, did not deſerve ſo ſevere a Cenſure; and it is evident, that he was ever con-

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feſſed to have been a fluent Author, full of Eloquence and very agreeable Flowers of Oratory. He abounds every where with moſt ingenious Sentences, with Thoughts expreſſed with the utmoſt Force and Vehemency. Believe me, ſays the learned *Colerus*, you will peruſe that terſe Piece with no leſs Pleaſure than you would look upon one of the Pictures of *Apelles*; it is ſo well compoſed, and ſo elegant. I admire, ſays he, that Judgment, which could inſert Sentences with ſo great Prudence and Brevity, in ſuch a Heap and Variety of Things; and laying aſide ſome little Places which may be thought more frigid, in compariſon of others, many refined Precepts are contained in what he writes, which could not be expreſſed in better terms.

SOME doubt whether *Florus*, who compoſed the four Books above-mentioned, was the ſame who prefixed the Arguments to the Books of *Livy*'s Hiſtory. It is certainly a great Miſtake to believe, that he intended to epitomize the whole Hiſtory of *Livy* in his four Books; for he obſerves no regard to his Method in various Places, but rather indulges his own Fancy. He is ſo extravagant in reference to Chronology or the Account of Time, that it is not ſafe to follow or rely upon him. He is cenſured for contriving the Loſs of *Livy*'s Works, in order to raiſe the Value of his own Collections; but this Charge is without Foundation, and cannot be ſupported.

THERE are ſome, who ſuppoſe *Seneca* to be the Author of the Compendious Hiſtory of *Florus*; becauſe *Lactantius*, in the ſeventh Book of his Divine Inſtitutions, mentions a Diviſion of the *Roman* Empire into four different Seaſons, aſcribing metaphorically to it *Infancy*, *Youth*, *Virility*, and *Old*

Florus & Livy

Old Age; which he attributes to *Seneca*'s Invention. And becauſe the ſame Diviſion is to be found in the Preface to the Books of *Florus* they would conclude *Seneca* to be be the Author of them; and that the Name of *Florus* is falſe and ſuppoſititious. But theſe Authors are ſo different in their way of Writing, that this Remark is not to be juſtified. *Seneca* makes the Youth or Adoleſcency of *Rome*, as he calls it, to reach to the End of the laſt *Punic* War; whilſt *Florus* makes it to continue but to the firſt. And *Seneca* begins its Old Age, when the Civil Wars aroſe between *Julius Cæſar* and *Pompey*; whereas *Florus* accounts it from the Eſtabliſhment of *Auguſtus* in the abſolute Power of the Empire. It is more reaſonable to believe, that *Lactantius* was miſtaken, than to imagine that all the Manuſcripts ſhould err, which have placed *L. Annæus Florus* in the Title of the Books we now mention. But perhaps *Florus* and *Seneca* being both of the ſame Family, that of the *Annæi*, it is poſſible their Names might by ſome means have been confounded; and that *Florus* was therefore ſometimes called *Seneca*, as he is in ſome old Copies, where he is ſometimes diſtinguiſhed by the Name of *Julius*. It is certain, that the Family of the *Annæi* has produced many excellent Perſons in various ſorts of Literature. *Seneca* the Philoſopher, the Tragedian and Rhetorician, (if they are three) ſufficiently prove it; as well as the Poet *Lucan*, and our Hiſtoriographer *Florus*, whoſe Style retains ſomething of the Genius of the *Annæan* Writers, born all to be Maſters in Eloquence and Poetry.

THERE was another *Julius Florus*, more ancient than the Hiſtoriographer, who lived in *Tiberius*'s Reign. *Seneca*, in his Controverſies, ſays, that

that he was inſtructed in the Art of Speaking well by the Orator *Portius Latro.* And *Quintilian*, ſpeaking of that *Florus*, ſays he was the Prince of Eloquence, and the publick Profeſſor of it in *Gallia.* They who build upon the Surname of *Julius*, (which, as was before obſerved, ſome Manuſcripts apply to him) imagine our Author was deſcended from that other *Florus*, of whom *Seneca* and *Quintilian* have made ſuch honourable mention. But this is a meer Conjecture, too light to deſerve a further Reflection.

AMONG the Licences *Florus* has aſſumed, there is one ſo poetical and ſtrangely hyperbolical, that *Scaliger* with reaſon blames him in his Commentaries upon *Euſebius*, for having in a miſtaken Zeal ſuffered himſelf to be led away by a mean and childiſh Appetite of relating wonderful Things to the Prejudice of Truth. It is where he relates the Expedition of *Decimus Brutus* along the *Celtic*, *Galician* and *Portugueſe* Coaſts, and alledges that *Brutus* never ſtopped his victorious Courſe till he beheld the Sun fall into the Ocean, and heard with Horror its Fire hiſſing in the Waters; which gave him a certain Apprehenſion of being ſacrilegious, and having done more than his Religion permitted. The ſame Deſire of writing ſomething marvellous, deſerves to be cenſured; where he ſpeaks of the Defeat of the *Cimbri* by *Marius.* He pretends that two young Men were ſeen in *Rome* near the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, preſenting to the *Prætor* Letters adorned with Laurel, as a ſure Token of a compleat Victory. I ſhall (ſays *La Mothe*) on this occaſion lay down a Maxim, That if an Hiſtorian ſometimes inſerts any thing in his Narration of ſo extraordinary a nature, he ought at the ſame time to ſignify the

the ſmall Faith he has in it, and proteſt that he meerly reports it as a popular Rumour.

THE Hiſtory of *Florus* contains a Compendium of the *Roman* Affairs, from *Romulus* to the time of *Trajan*, finely, plainly and elegantly written. The Accuracy and Brevity of it are very often wonderful, and (as *Lipſius* obſerves) there are many ſhining Sentences like Jewels interſperſed throughout, both with Judgment and Truth. But at the ſame time we may ſay with *Tan. Faber*, this acute and elegant Work is not to be read or eſteemed as a Hiſtory; but rather as a Panegyrick or Declamation, in commendation of the *Roman* Empire, and that mighty People. He is irregular in his Order of Time, and careleſs in the Names of Men and Officers; which often diſturbs his Senſe, and confounds the Reader. The Elegancy of his Style is generally commended, and the Sprightlineſs of his Fancy has obtained him the Name of *The Witty Hiſtorian.*

SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS.

CAIUS SUETONIUS TRANQUILLUS was a *Roman* born; his Father, who called himſelf *Suetonius Lenis* (a Surname differing only in Sound from that which his Son bore) being by Extraction only an ordinary Gentleman of *Rome*, yet was preferred to the Tribuneſhip of a Legion by the Emperor *Otho*, whoſe ſide he took againſt *Vitellius*. This Writer was born about the Beginning of the Reign of *Veſpaſian*, as may be collected from his own Words in the Life of *Nero*.

His firſt Years, in all probability, he paſſed at *Rome*; for he ſays, when he was a Youth he remembers himſelf to have ſeen an oldMan of ninety inſpected in open Court, whether he was circumciſed or not. Grown up to Manhood he betook himſelf to the Bar, where he practiſed with great Reputation; not but that he had a Tribune's Office given him, but whether it were that he liked not a military Life, or that he underſtood not martial Affairs, he declined it; and before he was muſtered, by means of his good Friend the Younger *Pliny*, who procured the Place for him, he got it to be transferred upon his Kinſman *Cæſennius Sylvanus*.

IN his Pleading of Cauſes, it was a great hindrance to him that he was not the Father of Children, there being a Law at *Rome* by which many Immunities and Privileges were given to ſuch. Some of theſe were a Freedom from bearing any Office which required perſonal Attendance, and a Preference at the Bar, that their Motion might be firſt heard; very conſiderable Advantages to one in his Circumſtances. Now the Emperors had always a Power of granting the like to thoſe who were childleſs; but it being looked upon as contrary to Law, *Trajan*, who was an excellent Prince, beſtowed theſe Favours very ſparingly, and would not exceed his Number which the Senate had allowed. In this caſe his old Friend *Pliny* ſolicits for him, and that with Succeſs; and becauſe his Letter to the Emperor gives us a true Character of *Suetonius*, and is a great Inſtance of the ſtrict Friendſhip that was between them, I ſhall offer it in *Engliſh*. It is the ninety-fifth Epiſtle of the tenth Book.

SIR,

SIR,

" I HAVE lately taken into my Acquaintance " *Suetonius Tranquillus*, a Man of great Probity, " Honour and Learning, allured by the Sweetneſs " of his Converſation, and being much pleaſed, " with the Scope of his Studies; and ſtill the " nearer I approach, and the more I know him, " I love him the better. He has not been ſo for- " tunate in his Marriage, but that the Privilege of " *three Children* is very neceſſary to him in his " Buſineſs at the Bar, which in the Opinion of " his Friends he well deſerves. By me he be- " ſeeches you to ſupply what his ill Fortune has " denied him. I know, Sir, the high value of " the Favour I beg, but I am begging of one " whoſe moſt bounteous Indulgence to all my " Requeſts I have experienced. And you may " gather with what Earneſtneſs I deſire this, be- " cauſe if I had been cold in my Wiſhes, I would " have ſtaid till I could have aſked it by Word of " Mouth."

To this Letter *Trajan* gave an anſwer to the Satisfaction of both Friends, conferring on *Suetonius* the Privilege he deſired. After the Death of *Trajan* he was made Secretary of State to the Emperor *Adrian*, which is an Evidence that he poſſeſſed beſides the Knowledge of great Affairs, a competent Capacity to deliver them in proper and apt Expreſſions. It is ſaid his Employment was taken from him becauſe of ſome private Familiarity he had with the Empreſs *Sabina*, or rather becauſe he had not treated her with proper Reverence and Reſpect; it is certain that *Adrian* had no great Regard for his Empreſs, and therefore ſeveral of his Courtiers took the liberty to ſlight and affront

her, among them *Septicius Clarus* and *Suetonius* overdid the matter, and were therefore turned out of their Places. But it happens ſometimes that particular Diſgraces are uſeful to the Publick, as was evidenced in his Perſon; for his Fall, and the Leiſure he had by it, reduced him to a ſtudious Contemplation, which has produced, among other Works, the Lives of the twelve *Cæſars*, which gives him a Place among the beſt Hiſtorians.

THE *Roman* Hiſtory is never mentioned without ſpeaking very advantageouſly of *Suetonius*: This Writer, ſays *Politian*, beſides his deſcriptive Art, which is admirable, has likewiſe given us plain Proofs of his Diligence, Veracity, and Freedom; there is no room for any Suſpicion of Partiality or Ill-will in his Books; nothing is ſaid out of Favour, nor ſuppreſſed out of Fear; the Facts themſelves have engroſſed his whole Attention, and he has conſulted Truth in the firſt place; by which it appears that his Work was framed (as *Thucydides* ſays) not for a tranſitory View, or to ſerve a preſent Purpoſe. He was ſo far from being influenced by the Motives of Fear or Favour to detract any thing from the Truth, that he rather choſe not to write the Lives of *Nerva*, *Trajan*, and *Adrian*, the Emperors of his Time, than to run any riſque by ſpeaking ill of the Perſons then alive, or to ſeem leſs free and impartial by extolling his Superiors. I very often, ſays *Lipſius*, recommend *Suetonius Tranquillus* to the Youth, and not without reaſon; if you examine his Words, they are pure, neat, proper; if the whole Thread of his Diſcourſe, it is ſhort and nervous; if you conſider his Subject, it is both an uſeful and pleaſant Hiſtory; and, which chiefly weighs with me, it is full of Morality and ancient Learning. *Vopiſcus* ſtyles

him

him a moſt correct and candid Writer; *Sidonius Apollinaris* ſays he was inexpreſſibly fine, and *Auſonius* that he was extremely elegant; *Ludovicus Vives* prefers him for Diligence and Fidelity before all the *Greek* and *Latin* Writers. He ſeems, ſays he, to have written the Lives of the twelve *Cæſars* with great Integrity, becauſe he conceals not the Vices or Suſpicions of Vices in the very beſt Princes, nor does he diſſemble the Colours of Virtue in the worſt. St. *Jerom* profeſſes himſelf to have made *Suetonius* his Pattern when he wrote the Lives of thoſe illuſtrious Men, who ſucceeded the Times of the Apoſtles; and *Eraſmus* gives his Teſtimony, I ſuppoſe it is on all hands agreed among the Learned, that for what relates to the Truth of Hiſtory, the firſt place is due to *Suetonius*, who, as one wittily ſaid, *wrote the Lives of the* Cæſars *with the ſame Liberty with which themſelves led them.* †

BESIDES his *Cæſars*, we have part of his Treatiſe of the illuſtrious Grammarians, and that of the Rhetoricians, and ſome Remains of another which contained the Lives of the Poets; for that of *Terence* is almoſt all of *Suetonius*'s Writing, as *Donatus* himſelf confeſſes, who adds ſomething to it. And the Lives of *Horace*, *Juvenal*, *Lucan*, and *Perſeus*, are probably of the ſame Compoſition. We are not to believe that what is extant of the Elder *Pliny*'s Life, under the Name of *Suetonius* is of his Writing; and if the Style were no Objection, the Phraſe is enough to diſcover it to be of a more modern Contexture *Suetonius* was too much a Friend to the Younger *Pliny* to ſpeak ſo coldly, and ſay ſo little of his Uncle, who was a moſt worthy Perſon. One may read in *Aulus Gellius*, and others, the Titles of ſeveral Compoſitions of *Suetonius*, which we have loſt; as that

of

of the *Games*, and *Spectacles* or *Shews* repreſented by the *Romans*. The Republick of *Cicero*; an Account of the illuſtrious Families of *Rome*, and many others.

THE Style of this Writer, ſays *Colerus*, is ſhort and nervous, and no Man has more diligently intermixed the publick Rites. He is moſt exact and candid, and not obnoxious to any Man, for who ever wrote the Temper or Humours and Manners of Princes, with a greater Freedom? Courtiers and Stateſmen may from hence reap much Advantage, and may alſo from *Suetonius* at the ſame time learn to deteſt Flattery.

THERE are ſome Criticks who affirm that the Beginning of the firſt Book of his *Cæſars* is wanting, and their Opinion is founded upon the Improbability that *Suetonius* ſhould have writ nothing of the Birth and firſt Years of *Julius Cæſar*, when he took the pains to ſearch into the Original and Education of eleven other Emperors that ſucceeded him, whoſe Lives he has deſcribed. *Muret* in his Oration upon *Tacitus* is ſomewhat ſevere: It were to be wiſhed, ſays he, that we had not from *Suetonius* learned ſo many Riots and ſhameful Vices as he declares to have been practiſed by the *Tiberii*, *Nerones*, and *Caligulæ*. They are, as he charges, ſo filthy, that they almoſt make the Paper bluſh, upon which they are repreſented. And if what one of the Ancients ſays be true, that there is but little Difference between him who deſcribes ſuch Infamy with Care, and he who teaches it, *Suetonius* cannot be excuſed without difficulty, for acting ſuch a Part as he did. And to augment his Charge, he is accuſed of having uſed the *Chriſtians* ill, calling them a Sort of Men who embraced a new and miſchievous Superſtition, which occaſioned their Perſecution in the

the time of *Nero*. But if it be a Crime in him, what Hiſtorians of Repute can be excuſed, who have repreſented the wicked Actions of thoſe they write of, which make the greateſt and often the moſt conſiderable part of the Narration? Does not the ſacred Hiſtory itſelf ſhew us Parricides, Inceſts, Idolatry, and many other Profanations among the beſt Examples, and the moſt divine Inſtructions? And ought we not to caſt into the Fire all the Books of thoſe Pagans who have writ ſince the Beginning of Chriſtianity, if what they expoſed againſt our Religion ſhould make us abſolutely condemn it?

THE Objection againſt *Suetonius* for being ſo particular in deſcribing the lewd Actions and horrid Debaucheries of many of the *Cæſars* is ſtrongly repreſented by *Muretus*. It is certain, ſays he, that many of the *Cæſars* lived up to the height of Looſeneſs and Debauchery, what Praiſe is it then for any Man to have equalled their Crimes by the Immodeſty of his Deſcription, and to have ſet before the Eyes of Men in barefaced and obſcene Words their vile Actions, which ſhould rather have been buried in perpetual Oblivion? You find nothing more frequently mentioned in *Suetonius* than Catamites, and the Authors of unnatural Luſts. *Sporus* married to *Nero*, and *Nero* to *Doryphorus*. He does not even forget the Expreſſions which they made uſe of in the middle of their Crimes, as if it concerned Poſterity to know theſe things, the bare mention of which ſhould make not only the Author but the Paper itſelf to bluſh. Nevertheleſs he inſiſts upon them ſo minutely and particularly, as if he had a mind to teach them. We find nothing like this in *Tacitus*; he either paſſes over ſuch Things, or he hints at them in ſuch a manner as ſhews his Hatred and Abhorrence,

rence, but does not eagerly dwell upon them as the other does. Wherefore let *Suetonius* ſhine among the *Vopiſci*, the *Spartiani*, the *Lampridii*, and other Writers of Lives of that ſort; in this he is preferable to them, that the Age in which he lived gave him an Opportunity of writing in a better *Latin* Style than they; but if he ſhould aſpire to the Glory of *Tacitus*, or dare to compare himſelf with him, he would be cenſured by all learned Men. I for my part look upon *Suetonius* to be no leſs hurtful to young People than the reading of *Catullus* or *Martial*. Nay, I think it even dangerous to Men of a ripe Age. This is a ſevere Remark. It muſt be allowed that this Writer gave a great deal of Liberty to his Pen, the Inquiries he made into the Vices of the *Cæſars* were very ſingular; nevertheleſs he was a Man of approved Morals, and of great Virtue.

THE particular Account, ſays *Bayle*, that *Suetonius* gives of the Debauchery of the Emperors is no Proof that he was a lewd Man; or that he took delight in deſcribing lewd Actions, nor in general that there was any thing wanting in his Probity and Honeſty; it ſhews only that he was a very ingenuous and ſincere Writer, and that he believed an Hiſtorian ought faithfully to relate the Truth of all Events he can diſcover; and thoſe who are never ſo little qualified to judge of the Character of an Author by his way of writing, will be of Opinion that *Suetonius* was only directed by his ſingular and natural Ingenuity, and not by a Deſire of amuſing or tickling the Paſſions. It ought to be preſumed, that he deſigned to puniſh Vice as much as an Hiſtorian can puniſh it, and to caſt a Blot upon the Memory of thoſe monſtrous Men, by tranſmitting it to future Ages,

attended

attended with all the Execration it deſerves, and that he thought ſuch a Method might in time prevent the like Brutalities.

I MUST not conceal that thoſe who are willing to know the Date of each Event are very much diſpleaſed with *Suetonius*. This Hiſtorian has wholly neglected it, he does not obſerve any Chronological Order, and indeed it was no part of his Deſign; and it is to be obſerved, he is very excuſable for fixing upon a Scheme of Writing which did by no means require ſuch a Method. There were Hiſtories enough which contained an exact Account of the Reign of the Emperors according to the Time in which every thing had been done, and therefore he did not think it proper to compoſe a Work of the ſame Nature, but rather choſe to diſcover the Actions of the Emperors in their moſt private Characters and Retirements.

PLINIUS JUNIOR.

CAIUS PLINIUS CÆCILIUS SECUNDUS was born, about ſixty two Years after the Nativity, at *Novo Comum*, a Town of *Italy*, eminent for nothing ſo much a of being the Place of Birth of ſo great as Man; however, by his grateful Munificence it was ſoon made more populous and remarkable by the Encouragement he there gave to the Inhabitants in the erecting of a publick School, liberally endowed, with a Library adjoining ſo competently furniſhed, that no queſtion, it invited a choice Reſort.

HE was the Son of *L. Cæcilius* by a Siſter of *Pliny*, the Natural Hiſtorian. He loſt his Father while young, who for aught we know left him no other Legacy but that of a good Example. His widowed Mother, deſtitute of the Helps of Education, delivers him up to his learned and wealthy Uncle, who yet reſolved, if degenerate in Virtue, not to own him allied in Blood. This Trial was ſoon made, and our Eaglet ſtood the Teſt. For by a vigilant Obſervance of his Inclinations and Deportment, the old Gentleman was ſo well ſatisfied, that by the Cuſtom of their Laws he adopted him into a nearer Relation, and at his Death (occaſioned by the Eruptions of *Veſuvius*) left him Heir of his Name and Fortunes. But before this Caſualty he had been very provident for the Breeding of his Nephew. He aſſigned him firſt to *Quintilian* that Maſter of Eloquence, who transfuſed into him all thoſe Precepts which hitherto ſo richly oblige the World, and he found him ſo quick, ſo tractable, that he never ſaw reaſon to ſpur his Induſtry, or amend his Apprehenſion; he had in him the luſcious Comfort of a docile Learner, and the only Danger was leſt his Jealouſies might have curbed that Forwardneſs he was ſurprized at, and made him inclinable to ſuſpect that from his Scholar he would ſoon commence his Rival. But he preferred his Duty before any envious Regards, and it is certain he did not only initiate him in the Elements of that Art he profeſſed, but laid him in Directions for the methodizing of all his future Studies; which the obedient Pupil ſo embraced, that when emancipate from his more immediate Diſcipline, he ſtill copied his Preſcriptions, and conformed to that Model which

which was ſet him by ſo able an Architect. As appears particularly from his ſo often running through the Decads of *Livy*, which was a Taſk no queſtion adviſed him by his great Inſtructor, who always betrayed a ſingular Affection for this Author, and in his moſt excellent Inſtitutions recommends him as moſt worthy of a repeated Peruſal.

WHEN thus lectured in Rhetorick he was now ripe for a Courſe in Philoſophy, and to enter upon this under as expert a Guide as he had attained the former, he was given up to the Tuition of *Nicetes*, a learned Prieſt. Under his Government he made ſo good a Proficience, that his Uncle with joy perceived he was fitted both for Years and Learning to reap the Advantages and conquer the Inconveniencies of a foreign Travel, which he knew well was a compleating Piece of Education. With theſe hopes he diſpatched him to *Syria*, which was then as much the common Mart of Literature as *Egypt* had been before. Yet the wary old Uncle would not truſt him with a Diſpoſal of his own Time, but leſt too great a Leiſure might expoſe him to ſuch Temptations which he ſhould not ſtrive to reſiſt, he provides him an Employ, and liſts him a young Volunteer, where he ſerved as if Arms were to be his Diverſion, not his Trade; and therefore he was oft allowed leave to retire from the Camp to his Studies, in which he had the moſt eminent Director thoſe Countries could afford, the famed *Euphrates*, whoſe Lectures he devoutly heard, and was poſſibly the greateſt Encourager, if not the ſole Motive, of his after Remove to *Rome*.

WHEN by a Viſit of the moſt remarkable Places, an Obſervance of their Policy, and a Maſ-

tery of the Language, he had completely anſwered the Deſign of his going abroad, he prepares to depart, and laded with thoſe Accompliſhments which are the richeſt Cargo of a Traveller, he returns to his expecting Friends; but ere a long abode with his Mother and Uncle, he loſes the latter, and thereby at eighteen Years of Age ſucceeds to a plentiful Eſtate. Among other Legacies, that which he moſt priſed was a hundred and ſixty Volumes of his Uncle's Works, filled up in the Margin, and wrote on the very Covers, all by his own Hand; for which, when their Number was ſomewhat leſs, he had in *Spain* been offered four hundred thouſand Seſterces. The compiling of theſe argued him an indefatigable Student, and being ſo ſevere an Accounter for his own Time, he might leſs invidiouſly urge others to an Improvement of theirs, which his Nephew aſſures us was his conſtant Humour; he was always a lecturing him into induſtry, and was ſo impatient of his leaſt Remiſſions from Study, that ſeeing him one Day walking, (and poſſibly intent on a Recollection of what he had lately read) he chid him for ſo idle a Diverſion, and ſharply told him he might be better employed. So that this Method of a ſedentary Intenſeneſs might probably firſt have been taken up by our young Student out of a Deſign to oblige the old Man, till it paſſed from a conſtrained Cuſtom to a ſettled Habit, from an aſſiduous Practice to a voluntary Inclination. It is worth the pains to relate, that he gave one notorious Inſtance of it. When his Uncle at *Mycenæ* in a Surprize at the Inflammation of *Veſuvius*, was ſailing out to take a nearer Proſpect of the Danger, he comes and aſks his Nephew to accompany him in that, which proved his laſt Voyage; but he bluntly

bluntly waves the Invitation, and fairly tells him he had rather continue at his Books: Though he durſt not without doubt have been ſo rough to one whoſe Years might ſuppoſe him peeviſh, and yet whoſe Favour it was ſo much his Intereſt to retain, if he had not foreſeen it would be ſo far from being reſented as a Contempt or Affront, that it would be the moſt taking Compliment he could poſſibly return.

He had not been long entered upon his new Inheritance before his Reſolves of Settlement were directed to *Rome*, where he fixed his Reſidence, not becauſe the Town and the Court might be moſt opportune for a Stage of Pleaſure and Diverſion, but that he thought here the moſt advantageous Platform to build up his future Fortunes. And therefore he would not be fluſh'd into a Spark or Gallant, but ſenſible that the beſt Huſbandry of his Revenues would be the Purchaſe of a good Name, he toiled ſo hard in Retirement, and relaxed himſelf ſo well in Company, that he ſoon gained the Repute of a ſmart and ſolid Gentleman. The moſt early Specimen of his Parts he had given in the Compoſure of a *Greek* Tragedy at fourteen Years of Age, wherein he ſo happily approved himſelf in the proper Genius of Sublime, in the true Air of the Buſkin, that he ſupervived his Years, and in his Nonage wrote Man by the beſt Periphraſis. A Succeſs in this ſoon heated him on to freſh Attempts, and in his Voyage from *Syria* about Seventeen, he falls upon *Latin* Elegiacs in the *Icarian* Sea, which we need not doubt were ſoft and ſmooth. But he knew theſe were juvenile Sports, which it would be fatal to be addicted to, and therefore when he had enough for bare Accompliſhment, reſolved to make no Employ of

what had Poverty and Affectation entailed for a Curſe; he was not ſo fond of the Beggar or the Fop, but that he ſteered his Endeavours to a more honourable Port, and applies himſelf to a Study of the Civil Law; in this he ſoon commenced ſo hopeful a Proficient, that upon a ſhort Preparation he was ripe for the Bar, and before twenty appeared for his Client in the *Roman Forum*, where his Pleadings were ſo connect, and his Delivery ſo becoming, that there was ſcarce afterwards any Cauſe of Moment wherein he was not by one of the Parties retained.

FROM the *Forum* he advanced to the Senate, and could argue before that Auguſt Aſſembly with as much Courage as he had done in the more inferior Courts. And here he was engaged in ſeveral of the moſt important Concerns, as the Management of the *Spaniards* Charge againſt *Bebius Maſſa*, the proſecuting of their Informations againſt *Cæcilius Claſſicus*, the Defence and Acquitment of *Julius Baſſus* and *Varenus*; and what was moſt eminent, he opened the Impeachment of *Marius Priſcus* Proconſul of *Africa*, charged by his Province with Bribery and Extortion; in the urging of this he was ſo briſk and reſolute, nay, ſo eager and intent, that the kind Emperor more than once ordered the Freeman to whiſper and adviſe his Maſter that he ſhould not injure his Lungs, nor drain his Spirits, nor over-charge his Conſtitution; however, with humble Thanks for the Caution, he zealouſly proceeds, and ſo expoſes the Caſe, that the Senate confeſt themſelves infinitely ſatisfied, and the Criminal was ſentenced to perpetual Baniſhment.

HE was too eminent to be thought uſeleſs, and

therefore his Country ſoon propoſed to experience his Abilities in ſome more publick Station. Hence he was honoured with a Commiſſion to ſuperviſe the Repairs of the *Æmilian* Way. He was a ſplendid *Prætor* for the City, a zealous *Tribune* for the People, a faithful *Queſtor* for the Emperor, a *Prefect* of the Treaſury for the State, and an *Augur* for the Gods. But his moſt active Preferments were his Proconſular Dignity in *Pontus* and *Bithynia*, and his Conſulſhip at *Rome*; in the former (which was laſt executed) he held a conſtant Correſpondence with his Imperial Maſter *Trajan*, and took all his Meaſures from his Advice, which he conformed to with ſo much of Reſolution and Diſpatch, that he won on the Affections of his Province, countermined the Malice of his Enemies, and for ever ſecured the Favour of his Prince.

It was from hence he dated that generous Teſtimony and Character he gave the *Chriſtians*; for it being the Miſtake of *Trajan* that this growing Sect would interrupt and diſturb the Peace of his Empire, he had given Inſtructions to all his Miniſters to ſuppreſs them by a ſmart Perſecution. Our Proconſul knew theſe Orders muſt be obeyed through the Extent of his Juriſdiction; yet he thought it not impertinent to give his honoured Lord ſome account of the Humours and Behaviour of the Men, before he went on to the extremeſt Rigour: In this Deſcription we may be ſure he ſpoke as a candid Relater, not as a biaſs'd Friend, and indeed the Danger of being partial was on the other Hand; for he abhorred the Scandal of leaning to that *New Superſtition*, and he wrote to one whom it was Manners to ſooth, which yet he could not better do than by confirming that Prejudice he had ſo devoutly entertained.

But

But maugre theſe Inducements, it was his Honour to ſpeak the Truth, and it was his Maſter's Virtue to hear it. He therefore declares, *That their only Crime, or rather Miſtake was, that they aſſembled before day to ſing a Form of Devotions to* Chriſt *their God, where they bound themſelves by Sacrament not to violate the* Roman *Laws, not to perpetrate any Villanies, but to avoid Theft, Robbery, Adulteries, and Breach of Faith. When they had done this, they never ſpent their Thoughts to conſpire and cabal, but marched quietly off to their reſpective Homes.* And this ſo much calmed the exaſperated *Trajan*, that he remitted his Paſſion, and returned Anſwer, that *they ſhould not be held in nor inquired after, but by others proſecuted, ſhould have Juſtice and a fair Trial.* Yet was this a Conceſſion he would never have made, had he not been fully convinced that they were neither ſeditious nor diſloyal, as he at firſt ſurmiſed. For indeed, there was no one Emperor more provident in cruſhing the Growth of Faction, as will appear by this ſingle Inſtance. *Pliny* had petitioned him that there might be a Corporation of Mechanicks founded by Charter at *Nicomedia*; but the prudent Prince, tho' it ſeemed but a trivial Requeſt, and aſked by ſuch a Favourite, whom he was not wont to deny, yet he gives him this one Repulſe, and aſſign'd no other Reaſon, than that ſuch Societies were always prone to Faction, and were the common Nurſeries of riotous and diſcontented Spirits.

WHEN he had diſcharged his Government with no Unhappineſs, but that of Envy, he comes back to *Rome*, and is comforted with an humble Addreſs from his Dependants, an hearty Welcome from his Friends, and a gracious Reception from his Prince. But precedent to this honourable Employ

ploy abroad, had been his Conſulſhip at home, an Office which his exact Art of Conduct had proclaim'd him worthy of; ſo that with no Pauſe from his Prefectſhip of the Treaſury, to this the Emperor recommends and the People in Duty accept him. And to ſweeten the Enjoyments of it he was bleſt with a Collegue, who was Partner of his Thoughts, as well as his Dignity, the good *Tertullus*. It was in theſe Circumſtances, that he delivered his *Panegyrick* in a full Senate, with a reverend Aſpect, and deliberate Voice, it coſting him three Days to rehearſe.

It was not from this Inſtance only, but from a long Series of Loyalty, that he was ſo in favour with his Prince, as upon an humble Motion to procure any reaſonable Act of Grace; yet he made uſe of this Power not to advantage himſelf, but to prefer his Friend. And the Emperor, as found a Politician as any that flouriſhing State was ever crowned with, thought it no Reflection on his Manage, to have a potent Favourite, and therefore let him command what Curteſies he pleaſed to intreat. His Opportunities to ſerve his Dependants were by this Means frequent, and the Grants conſiderable. He got for his Phyſician *Harpocrates*, for *Cryſippus*, and other Aliens, a Freedom of *Rome*: He obtained for the Children of *Antonia*, and other hopeful Perſons, the Name and Privilege of Gentlemen. He advanc'd *Sura* to the Prætorſhip, and his Chamber-Fellow *Voconius*, to ſeveral ſucceſſive Dignities.

Nor was it only at the Emperor's Coſt that he maintained his Friends, but where they were indigent and ready to accept, he would as freely ſpend from his own Stock, wherein his Bounty was always unconditionate; he never (ſays Dr. *Kennet*,

Kennet, from whom this Life is chiefly taken) hook'd by Civilities, nor tamper'd with his Favours, yet were his Largeſſes precious and munificent. He ſettled on his decayed Townſman *Caninius Rufus* a handſome Salary for Encouragement and Support in a ſtudious Life. He allowed *Martial* a comfortable Penſion to board him in a Country Retirement. *Metilius Criſpus* he ſent to a good Military Employ abroad, and gave him a round Sum at Departure to bear his Charges. To *Voconius Romanus* he gave three thouſand Seſterces to make him up a Gentleman's Eſtate, and to his Maſter *Quintilian*, at the Marriage of his Daughter, he ſent fifty thouſand Seſterces, as a Portion for the decent Bride.

AND thoſe he embraced for Friends were not his Neighbours and Relations only, but all the moſt eminent of each Faculty and Science. Of Poets he had *Martial* and *Silius Italicus*, the firſt a Prince in *Epigram*, the ſecond a Peer in *Heroic*. Of Hiſtorians he had both *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*; he took the former for a Confident, and admitted the latter for a Companion. Of Civilians he pick'd out *Pomponius Saturninus*, *Arrianus*, and what others were the moſt celebrated Oracles of the Law. To theſe he opened his Soul, and was as privy to all their Society, and eſpouſed their Intereſt, without any dirty Reſerves of Craft or Deſign.

HIS Eſtate was ſo conſpicuous, and his Conditions ſo endearing, that he was ſure to be courted from the Selfiſhneſs of a ſingle Life, an alteration of which was poſſibly more a Compliance with the Importunity of others, that any Hurry of his own Inclinations; however, he had choice of Proffers, and Judgment to ſelect the beſt. Of his firſt Wife we have but an obſcure mention; his ſecond was *Calphurnia*,

Calphurnia, whom Dowry and Parentage rendered an equal Match: Her he admitted to his Heart as well as Bed, and for an Inſtance of his Fondneſs, has left us a Pair of uxorious, yet chaſte Epiſtles. It was the only Misfortune he ever complained of, that he could have no Iſſue by either of them.

THIS Unhappineſs he contrived by the moſt availing Method to repair; for indeed (as far as this ſide of Vanity would allow) he ſeemed in nothing to betray a ſtronger Impetus of Deſire, than to have his Name and Memory outlive his Funeral; and therefore he got not only a grateful Celebration from *Martial*, and by a hint of his own an honourable mention from *Tacitus*, but tempted Eternity with many of his own Works, which deſerved a longer Duration than moſt of them have met with. Beſide his *Greek* Tragedy and Elegies, in his Voyage from *Syria*, he wrote a Tract of Hendecaſyllables; another of Demonſtrative Orations; ſome Reflections on the Self-Murder of *Helvidius*: A Collection of Epiſtles, and a Panegyrick upon the Emperor, of which the two laſt only are reſcued from that eating Oblivion, which has ſwallowed the other.

WHEN he was cloy'd with the Flatteries of the Town, he would oft retire to his Country Seats, of which he had two moſt delicately ſituate, the one his *Laurentine*, the other his *Tuſcan* Farm; where, in imitation of the Primitive Conſuls and Dictators, he read Nature in the Cultivations of Huſbandry, and thought his Gentility ſo little ſoiled hereby, that he gave a Waggon for his Coat of Arms.

WE have better Proof how he lived then when he died; we have a moral Certainty for the one, but muſt be content with Conjecture for the other.

His

His last Epistles seem to be those from *Pontus* to the Emperor, and after his giving up this honourable Trust, we hear nothing considerable of his Actions from himself, or any other Historian. It is recorded, that his Royal Patron resign'd to Death about the Year from our Saviour's Birth (if *Eusebius* compute right) 119; whom it is likely he had no great Ambition to survive: and therefore we may presume he left the World soon after the Loss of that Comfort which had been most effectual to have detained him in it. Yet some (I fancy, on more presumptuous Grounds) date his Death in the twelfth of *Trajan*'s Reign: It is sure, that *Eusebius* then mentions the Decease of a *Pliny*, but implies it of the Senior.

THIS Writer (says Mr. *Kennet*) gained not only a fluent Style, and a plausible Delivery, which are but the Mechanism of Oratory, but he had such an accurate Idea of Things, knew so well their apt Representment by Words, and understood so compleatly the Influence of each Period on the Soul, that he still married his Expressions to his Argument, always reconciled his Auditory to his Subject, and never spoke but to those Passions he raised. He could instruct a Friend, that an Invention copious, and a free Elocution, might haply be the Talents of an illiterate Confidence; but an orderly Disposure, a due Turn of Figures, a critical Mode of Transition, and such other Secrets of Art were only Acquirements of the laborious and learned. Yet it was one of his Maxims, That Use was the best Rhetorician; he having known many who had neither Parts nor Reading, yet by assiduous Practice had talked often till they spoke well.

HE

HE was ſuch an Artiſt at the Variance of Expreſſions, that almoſt in the ſame Breath he could be fuller, and more acute, grave and flouriſhing, ſo that his Cadencies made a Diſſonance of Muſick, being always unequal. His Endeavours herein, by Confeſſion to a Friend, were, that he might ſo contrive it, that by a different turning of Periods, he would have ſomewhat to affect the moſt ſingular Reliſh of each peculiar Palate, yet where his Subject required a ſteady even Pace, he would never range, but keep devoutly to each Scheme of Languages, which is only proper to each diſtinct Compoſition. Undoubtedly he was an accurate Maſter of all Styles, and ſeemed moſt happy in the moſt difficult, that of the Sublime; for the Exerciſe of which, he had that Argument which the great *Longinus* implied to be the moſt ſuitable, that of Panegyric. Wherein he completely ſhun'd thoſe Vices which ſo nearly adjoin Affectation and Flatneſs. He could fly without ſoaring, and again walk without creeping; he could reach where it was proper, and ſtoop where it was more becoming.

MR. *Toland* thus delivers the Character of *Pliny*: That for what we call a happy Turn, Delicacy of Expreſſion, and ſpeaking only to the Buſineſs in hand, no Modern comes near to him; no more than in the variety of his Subjects, ſuch as Intrigues of State, Points of Literature, and Hiſtory, Queſtions in Natural Philoſophy, rural Pleaſures, the Concerns of his Friends, and ſome Trifles which he renders important.

THE Character of this Claſſic is touched with greater delicacy and exactneſs by Mr. *Blackwell*. *Pliny* the younger is one of the fineſt Wits that *Italy* has produced; he is correct and elegant, has

a florid and gay Fancy, temper'd with Maturity and Soundneſs of Judgment. Every thing in him is exquiſitely ſtudied, and yet in, generally ſpeaking, every thing is natural and eaſy. In his incomparable Oration in honour of *Trajan*, he has frequent and ſurpriſing Turns of true Wit, without playing and tinkling upon Sounds: He has exhauſted the Subject of Panegyric, uſing every Topic and every Delicacy of Praiſe.

M. JUNIANUS JUSTINUS.

THIS Writer is ſuppoſed to have lived in the Time of *Antoninus Pius*, and has made himſelf famous by abridging the Hiſtory written by *Trogus Pompeius*: His Hiſtory began at *Ninus*, Founder of the *Aſſyrian* Monarchy, and came down to the time of *Auguſtus*; but this Work, to the great Misfortune of the learned World, is loſt, and its Loſs is attributed to the Abridgment, which being written in a polite and elegant Style, was very probably the reaſon why that Age neglected the Original, and uſing this only, their Succeſſors totally ſlighted that. Nor is there any one, ſays *Voſſius*, among the *Latins*, who has more politely and elegantly contracted the Hiſtory of ſo many Empires; for he comprehends the Actions almoſt of all Nations from *Ninus* to *Auguſtus*.

IT is eaſy to make a near Gueſs at the time when *Trogus Pompeius* lived, by what he ſaid in his forty third Book, of his Parents that came from *Gallia Narbonenſis*; where he declares his Grandfather to be made a Citizen of *Rome* by the Favour of *Pompey*

pey the Great (whoſe Surname probably he took) during the Wars of *Sertorius*; and that his Father, after he had bore Arms under *Caius Cæſar* (who is here taken for the firſt Emperor that bore that Name rather than for *Caligula*) had the Honour to be his Secretary, and jointly to keep his Seal. It is therefore thought that *Trogus Pompeius* wrote his Hiſtory under *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius*, having ſpoken of the former at the End of the whole Work. It was divided into forty four Books, whoſe number *Juſtin* has not changed no more than their Title, which was the *Philippick* Hiſtory, becauſe (as it appears from the ſeventh unto the one and fortieth Book) it was a continued Narration of the *Macedonian* Empire, which owed its riſe to *Philip* the Father to *Alexander* the Great. *Theopompus* had written before fifty eight Books called *Philippicks*, which are quoted by *Athenæus* and *Diodorus*, and by ſome held to be the Model which *Trogus Pompeius* followed, as *Cicero* imitating *Demoſthenes*, named his Orations *Philippicks* with much leſs reaſon.

IT is the received Opinion, that *Juſtin* made his Epitome (as was before ſaid) under the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*, to whom it is ſuppoſed he dedicated it in his Preface, *Quod ad te, Imperator* Antonine, *non tam cognoſcendi quam emendandi cauſâ tranſmiſi*. I know the Paſſage wherein that Emperor is mentioned, is diverſly interpreted, and ſome have been perſuaded that he wrote after the Eſtabliſhment of the *Roman* Empire in *Conſtantinople*, becauſe of a Paſſage in the Eighth Book, where he ſpeaks of the Sovereign Power of *Greece*. Græciam *etiam nunc, et viribus et dignitate, orbis terrarum Principem*. But that Expreſſion may admit other Interpretations, without a Neceſſity of

making him live two hundred Years later than he did, and in an Age which produced nothing ſo polite and elegant as all we have of this Author is. It is ridiculous to confound this Writer with *Juſtin* the Martyr, as one *Martin* a *Polander* does in his Chronicle; for the manner in which the Hiſtorian treats the *Iſraelites* in his ſix and thirtieth Book, ſhews him to be of *Pagan* Belief. This Epitomizer of *Trogus* is cenſured by ſome, for introducing a few Digreſſions in a Work ſo cloſe and ſhort as the Hiſtory he writes. The firſt is found in the Beginning of his ſecond Book, where the *Scythians* and *Egyptians* have a Debate on a Point of Honour, in what relates to their Antiquity, both of them pretending to have ſufficient reaſons to call themſelves the moſt ancient People of the Earth: The ſecond is in the twentieth Book, on the Subject of *Pythagoras*, whoſe Birth, Voyages, Learning, Virtues and Death he deſcribes, without forgetting the Misfortune which happened to his Diſciples, threeſcore of whom were burnt in *Croton*, and the reſt exiled. Whence one may conclude, ſays *La Mothe*, that all ſorts of Digreſſions are not to be condemned, when ſo eminent an Author as *Juſtin*, who contracted in ſo little a Space, the Hiſtory of the Tranſactions of two thouſand Years, (which are reckoned from *Ninus*, the Founder of the *Aſſyrian* Monarchy, to the Emperor *Auguſtus*) made no difficulty ſometimes to divert himſelf this way upon an agreeable Subject.

BUT tho' *Juſtin*'s Manner of Writing is ſo excellent, that it was thought worthy of *Auguſtus* his Age, rather than that of the *Antonines*, his Elegancy of Style cannot atone for his Miſtakes in Relation. *Pererius* has convinced him of many Errors in reference to the *Jews*, in his Commentaries upon

upon *Daniel*; and *Vopiſcus* places him in the rank of Hiſtorians, who could not avoid Lying. That which he cannot be excuſed in, is Chronology; where he was ſo much miſtaken, that he is not always to be depended on. And that which makes his Fault the greater, is, that the Reputation of *Trogus Pompeius*, and the Eſteem which all the Ancients had for him, oblige Men to think that thoſe Miſcomputations in the Sequel of Times, are rather of the Copy than the Original, or of the Abbreviator rather than the primitive Author; which is the ordinary Judgment of thoſe, who have laboured moſt in the beſt Editions of *Juſtin*.

FINIS.

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